REPORT RESUMES

ED 014 365 RC 001 992

UNDERSTANDING THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN IN TODAY'S CULTURE. SAN DIEGO PROJECT--ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT.

BY- BELLIAEFF, ALEXANDER

SAN DIEGO CITY SCHOOLS, CALIF.

PUB DATE 66

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$4.08 100P.

DESCRIPTORS- AMERICAN INDIANS, *CULTURE, CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, ETHNIC RELATIONS, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, FAMILY (SOCIOLOGICAL UNIT), GUIDES, HOUSING, *HISTORY, *MEXICAN AMERICANS, MINORITY GROUPS, SOCIAL RELATIONS, VALUES,

THE CLASSIFICATION, MEXICAN-AMERICAN, IS EXTREMELY BROAD AND INCLUDES ALL PEOPLES OF HISPANIC DESCENT. WHILE SOME MEXICAN-AMERICANS HAVE BEEN RESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE BEFORE THE NATION WAS FORMED, OTHERS HAVE MIGRATED OR ILLEGALLY CROSSED THE BORDER ONLY RECENTLY. MANY OF THESE PEOPLE RESIDE WITHIN METROPOLITAN AREAS AND REMAIN CULTURALLY APART FROM ANGLO-AMERICA. FREQUENTLY, EDUCATORS CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF TEACHING THESE MEXICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN HAVE FAILED TO UNDERSTAND THE BASIC CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THIS MINORITY GROUP. THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF THIS GUIDE IS TO ASSIST THOSE EDUCATORS IN GAINING SOME INSIGHT INTO THIS PROBLEM. THE GUIDE IS DIVIDED INTO FIVE UNITS AS FOLLOWS--(1) A HISTORY OF MEXICO AND THE MEXICAN AMERICANS FROM THE PRE-COLUMBIAN ERA TO THE PRESENT, (2) FAMOUS MEXICANS IN EARLY CALIFORNIA HISTORY, (3) MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, (4) THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY INCLUDING THE FAMILY, HOUSING, EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATIONS IN CALIFORNIA, AND (5) A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ADDITIONAL RESOURCE INFORMATION. (ES)

ED014365

UNDERSTANDING THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN IN TODAY'S CULTURE

(San Diego Project--Elementary and Secondary Education Act)

Prepared
by
Alexander Belliaeff

Advisory Committee

Don Irwin, Chairman	Eleanor Herzman
Frances Clare	Lilia A. Gonzalez

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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San Diego City Schools
San Diego, California
1966
Unedited

RC 001 992

PREFACE

This guide, Understanding the Mexican-American in Today's Culture, was developed at the request of the teachers and principals involved in compensatory education programs. In the spring a committee of representatives from ESEA schools developed a tentative outline of contents for this manual. The outline was approved by the elementary principals and was submitted to the writer and curriculum committee.

The primary purpose of the guide is to help the educator better understand the Mexican-American in today's culture. Special emphasis is given to the problems of immigration, education, and employment.

This publication is to be used by elementary and secondary teachers and principals as background information and not as a teaching guide. However, it has been necessary to limit sections of this guide because of lack of current publications and research in the field.

Because of the growing urgency for better understanding of all ethnic groups and a need for positive action in their behalf, resource materials will be available through governmental agencies and educational institutions.

Wm. H. Stegeman

William H. Stegeman
Assistant Superindent
Curriculum Services Division

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INTRODUCTION

The classification, Mexican-American, is extremely broad, including peoples who are almost as varied as the American population itself. Within the group are included all peoples of Hispanic descent, regardless of whether they originated in Spain, Mexico or South America. Some have been residents of the United States since before the nation was formed; others have immigrated within the last few years or perhaps slipped across the border illegally within the last century. Many ethnic variations are included within the Mexican-American community--from the pure-blooded Castilians to the pure-blooded descendants of the indigenous Indian population. The largest percentage, however, is represented by a combination of these two elements--the Mestizo.* There is not only diversity ethnically but also socially, economically and culturally. Some of the descendants of Spanish "first families" of the Southwest are in every respect "first families" of the nation. At the other extreme are the impoverished, illiterate migrant workers--illegal or legal--who form the manual backbone of the agricultural production of the Southwest.

Between these extremes exist the numerous first-, second- and third-generation Mexican-Americans who reside within the metropolitan areas but who remain culturally apart from Anglo-America. It is to the children of these families that this project is dedicated. Children who literally grow up in two different worlds: the Spanish-speaking, Hispanic culture of their homes and the English-speaking, Anglo culture of the schools. It is hoped that through the summary of the historical background, patterns of immigration and residency, and specific characteristics of the Mexican sub-culture, more understanding will be fostered among the school, the child and the community.

"The meeting of Spanish-speaking and English-speaking people in the Southwest has brought two historical cultures into contact and, insofar as they are different, into conflict. To assess properly the meaning of this conflict, we may start with three or four generalizations. First, the underlying culture of a people is the product of a long past. Second, the culture of a people changes at varying rates as a result of forces within the group and of contacts with other cultures. Third, cultures which develop in isolation from each other and in different environments tend to diverge in important respects--in language, for example--and cultures in contact tend to develop common elements. Finally, when two peoples are brought together geographically, cultural differences tend to keep them apart and cultural likenesses to bring them together.

"It is difficult to give an adequate description of the culture of a group, first, because the term is so broad. How people live, what houses they build, what foods they eat, what recreations they enjoy, what institutions they develop, what knowledge they have....what religion they profess, what they value--in brief, the life characteristics of a people are their culture.

---

* Mestizo: A person of mixed blood--a person of Spanish and Indian blood.

"A second difficulty in describing the culture of a group arises from the fact that cultures change. A condition which may well have been typical at an earlier time may no longer be so. This is particularly true of a people whose culture was developed within a rural-village environment and who are suddenly transplanted into a modern urban culture.

"A third reason why the description of the culture of a people is difficult is that there are extreme differences among persons who are within the same group. Within many large groups there are sub-groups markedly different from each other, and the differences among individual members of the group are even more extreme. It should be emphasized that a kind of central tendency--or, in statistical terms, the mode of a population—is just that: the average of a series of conditions which vary along a continuous scale, or a condition which is characteristic of a fraction of the group sufficiently large to have significance...."[1]

Throughout the past and down to the present day, there has been antagonism, animosity, and covert hostility between the Mexican-Americans and the Anglo-Americans within the United States. Much of this hostility has arisen because of the different value orientations of these two groups. Julian Samora finds the socio-cultural traditions of the Mexican-American to be "a distain for change; clinging to tradition; fatalism and defeatism; emphasis on being, not doing; geographic isolation; strong familism and kinship ties with the community; lack of formal education; patron system of personal relations in government and the economy; passive role in the society; strong religiosity; rural backgrounds." In contrast, the Anglo-American idealizes "hard work; individual effort; humanitarianism; freedom; efficiency and practicality; formal education; science and secular rationality; social mobility; ...geographic mobility."[2]

According to Martin Ortiz, "American culture is based on the future. We insure for the future, educate ourselves for the future, take a job 'with a future', save for the future, plan our lives in the future, get health examinations for future health, and so on.... The cultural background of persons of Mexican descent is not always based on the future, but on the present....

"American culture is based on organizations. We organize into groups, we organize our time, we organize our lives. We surrender our individuality to the interest of the group. We tend to give up our immediate desires in favor of a previous plan.... We want to be governed by law, not by persons. We try to be objective.

"The culture of Mexico is generally based on individuals. They sacrifice the group to the person.... Human and personal relationships are very important. Rules should be changed to fit each individual case. Impersonality and objectivity have no charms. Personal favors are expected. Planning, budgeting, team-work on the basis of a plan does not always play an important role."[3]

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1. See page 5 for footnotes in this "Introduction."

"These are a few of the basic differences in the traditional values of the Spanish-speaking and the English-speaking citizens of the United States. These diverse elements make full cooperation within the community more difficult, and they increase the problems of those who are trying to find a secure place in the larger community. If the diversity is to be decreased, obviously one set of values must move toward the other or else both must find some common ground. It is probable that the movement will be chiefly toward the Anglo-American values, because of the numerical dominance of this group and because of its better adaptation to the urbanized industrial society."[4]

Marden and Meyer observe that "some minorities desire assimilation involving the loss of ethnic identity....The European immigrant peoples have substantially reached this position. In the case of the people of Mexican descent, several factors suggest the possibility of their adjustment to American society on a basis of distinctive ethnic identity, with coordinate rather than minority status: (1) the mexicanos (sic) are not yet so far along the assimilative process as to preclude this outcome. (2) There is the example of coordinate ethnic pluralism in New Mexico. (3) There is a current tendency for the various Spanish-Mexican sub-groups to cooperate in recognition of their common identification in la raza (see below). (4) These people are located close to (and in the case of the hispano still in) the homeland of their ancestors...." Observing that students and writers frequently distinguish between the hispano, the Spanish-American, the Mexican-American, Sanchez writes:

> In the last analysis, these are all Indo-Hispanic peoples, Spanish-Mexican peoples, with all that that implies in terms of their bio-social make-up. Furthermore, these peoples, in New Spain and then in Mexico and in the United States have been consistently... much in the same boat as to socio-economic circumstances. These common antecedents have given a fundamental sameness to their culture and, as a consequence, to their behavior. Therefore, while the hispano of Santa Fe is a mexicano (sic) with a tradition somewhat different from that of the mexicano (sic) of Laredo or of Fort Collins or of Fresno or of Tucson, and each had backgrounds that are different from that of each of the others, they are all Mexicanos (sic)—they all belong to la raza, that vague but very real community that has nothing to do with nationality or patriotism or race.
>
> The recent past has been eloquently illustrative of this little-appreciated fact. One cannot view developments throughout the Southwest (and in the Mexican-American communities in such places as Chicago) without marveling at the similarity and, in the last analysis, the cohesiveness of these peoples. Probably the most dynamic and popular leaders of the Mexican-Americans in California are a New Mexican and a Coloradoan. In New Mexico, a Texas-Mexican has done wonders in rallying the hispanos for much-needed reforms in government. In Texas, a New Mexican has been in the middle of the state Latin-American leadership. The American G.I. Forum of the United States, composed almost

> entirely of veterans of Mexican descent, a powerful force for good in about twenty states, is the creation of a tremendously energetic and a selfless Texas-Mexican medical doctor. These men and their work attest to the commonalty of the people of Mexican descent in the United States.
>
> One of the most persistent problems arises out of the peculiar status of these Spanish-Mexican peoples in the United States. They are really not immigrants in the same sense that the Italians, Irish, and others like them in the United States are immigrants. In the Southwest, certainly, the Spanish-Mexican is in his traditional home. His Indian antecedents, of course, give him a status very different from that of the European immigrant. Bolstering this is the fact that his Spanish ancestors were here since the sixteenth century and that this vast region, the Southwest, was a part of New Spain until a little over a hundred years ago. The Mexico-United States boundary meant little until some thirty-five years ago, and the freedom of the movement across that boundary has become virtually a traditional and much-exercised right—one, unfortunately, exploited by the employers of cheap labor.
>
> This peculiar status of these Spanish-speaking peoples has made them unusually resistant to the superficial features of Americanization. Under no compulsion to repudiate the "old country" and to become 150 percent American, they have clung tenaciously to their language and to other manifestations of their sense of identity....

"Whether the mexicano (sic) will retain cultural identity or become merged into the Anglo population depends largely, according to Simmons, on how the Anglos continue to react to the mexicanos (sic). 'Mexicans want to be accepted as full members of the larger society, but do not want to achieve this at the cost of giving up completely their cultural heritage.' If full acceptance of Mexicans by Anglo-Americans is contingent on the complete disappearance of cultural differences, it will not be accorded in the foreseeable future."[5]

INTRODUCTION — FOOTNOTES

1. Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare (Austin: University of Texas Press), pp. 31-32.

2. Julian Samora, The Spanish-Speaking People in the United States: A Pilot Study Prepared for the United States Commission on Civil Rights, p. 2.

3. Martin Ortiz, Mexican Americans in the Los Angeles Region (Los Angeles: Welfare Planning Council), p. 3.

4. Manuel, op. cit., p. 44.

5. Charles F. Marden and Gladys Meyer, "Mexicanos," Minorities in American Society (New York: American Book Co.), pp. 140-141.

UNIT I: HISTORY OF MEXICO AND THE MEXICAN-AMERICANS

A. The Pre-Columbian Era - 20,000 B.C. to 1492 A.D.

Early Man in Mexico

"Archaeological evidence supports the theory that humans lived on the Central Plateau near the present city of Mexico no later than 20,000 B.C. The gap between these paleolithic hunters and the cultures from which there are archaeological artifacts, between 1,000 and 500 B.C., is called the 'Basic' period.

"Consistent material in sufficient abundance to permit intelligent guesses about how ancient Mexicans lived and died dates roughly from around 500 B.C., the beginning of the second or 'Formative' state. Findings from rubbish heaps on small habitation sites indicate that generation after generation lived as primitive agriculturalists primarily on maize, or corn. They appear to have had extremely simple governmental systems headed by priests who carried out uncomplicated ritual ceremonies."[1]

Mayan Culture

Beginning around 300 A.D., there was a sudden flowering of cultural growth. "The most notable, and perhaps the oldest of the early cultures, was that of the ancient Maya which occupied a hot, humid belt of land extending from northwestern Honduras across Guatemala into the southern part of Yucatan."[2] These people had already attained a high level of civilization, a thousand years or more before the Spanish conquest. The Mayans had developed a "remarkably accurate calendar and an astonishing skill in mathematical and astromical calculation. They had learned to use the mathematical quantity of zero and a system of numeration by position some centuries before these concepts had come into use in the old world."[3]

Cultural Attainment

The Mayans of Yucatan, the Olmecs and Toltecs, who were located farther to the north in Mexico, and other societies of this golden era were able to accomplish amazingly high intellectual and aesthetic achievements. They developed complex religious and social organizations, and constructed monumental buildings for these institutions without the use of metal tools or the wheel. In spite of the fact that use of the wheel was unknown throughout the western hemisphere, these early cultures developed the manufacture of pottery to an advanced degree. Through the recovery of pottery, objects of art, and uniform techniques and styles, it is evident that there was extensive interchange of ideas and goods among the various Indian civilizations which were separated by considerable distances.[4]

Decline of Classic Civilizations

"Whether from some yet-undiscovered cataclysmic event or natural decline, the classic civilizations moved into a period comparable to the Dark Ages of Europe. There is evidence that, by the year 1,000 A.D., these peaceful, stable and prosperous societies had become eroded by wars, migrations and the incursions of wild tribes, in a manner not unlike that of Europe during the ages following the fall of the Roman Empire. During the several hundred years before the coming of the Spaniards, the dominant ruling coalition among a group of loose confederations was that of the Aztecs, centered in the great city of Tenochtitlan near the present-day city of Mexico."[5]

The Aztecs were conquering people who subjugated neighboring tribes and from them demanded tribute which included human and animal sacrifices for their worship of a hierarchy of warrior gods. They ruled from the great city of Tenochtitlan which they had constructed on an island in the center of Lake Texcoco, in 1344 or 1355. The great Venice-like city was connected to the surrounding countryside by a series of causeways--equipped with drawbridges as a precautionary method; it contained palaces, market places and temple.[6]

The success of the Aztec political and military organization is in sharp contrast to the levels of development achieved by other tribes of the surrounding region. In fact, extreme heterogeneity was probably the most significant feature of the whole Mexican area at the end of the fifteenth century and is still significant today. The degrees of civilization represented by the various cultures ranged from extremely primitive groups, who had progressed scracely at all from the Basic or Formative Periods, to these highly sophisticated city-state confederations. Between two and four hundred different languages and dialects were spoken by the 30 million people who lived in what is now the territorial area of Mexico. When the Spaniards, led by Hernan Cortez, entered Mexico in 1519, the post-Classical period came to a close and 350 years of colonialism had its beginning.[7]

B. Period of Discovery, Conquest and Exploration - 1492-1602

Discovery of New World

The discovery of the Western Hemisphere by Columbus generated much excitement and activity in Europe. Exploration and discovery became the way of life for adventurous men in many lands. Inevitably, conflicts over ownership of land arose. The Papal decree of May 3, 1493, by Pope Alexander VI, was an attempt to settle the dispute between Spain and Portugal over ownership of the "new lands." This decree was altered in 1494 by the Treaty of Tordesillas which "provided that the 'line of demarcation' should run from pole to pole 370 leagues west of the Cape Verdes. Not until six years later was it discovered that a part of South America lay east of this new line--a fact that gave Portugal her claim to Brazil."[8]

Conversion of the Indians

A condition in the 1493 Papal decree which awarded to Spain the lion's share of the land, stipulated that there be sent to the new world "worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled and experienced men, in order to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic faith."[9]

"This religious fervor was echoed by Queen Isabella of Spain who felt it so keenly that in her will of 1504, leaving to Ferdinand the regency of Castile, she charged 'that what was commanded by the Pope as to the Indians "be not infringed in any respect".'"[10]

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Cortes Conquers the Aztecs

"The incredible feat of Cortes and his handful of followers in subduing a large part of the millions of native inhabitants of the Central Mesa, between 1519 and 1521, remains one of the remarkable military achievements of all times."[11] The success of this undertaking was aided in great measure by the loose control which the Aztecs exercised over their subjects, the hatred of these conquered people for their masters, and the support which Cortes obtained from neighboring native tribes. In spite of the valiant effort displayed by the Aztecs in attempting to protect themselves from the superior European weapons during the bloody battle on the causeways of Lake Texoco, the Spaniards became the victors, and shortly thereafter Montezuma was killed. 1521 marked the beginning of a 350-year period of Spanish domination, the effects of which are evident from "Tierra del Fuego at the southern tip of South America, to northern California, southern Colorado, across southwestern United States and along the Gulf coast to Florida and including the islands of the Caribbean."[12]

Motives for Immigration to the New World

The immigrants who came from Europe to settle "New Spain" had extremely varied motives. The result was a three-way division of attitude and action from the earliest days of Spanish domination. "Continuous conflict existed between (1) the Spanish government in Europe, (2) the seekers of wealth and personal glory in New Spain who were supported by the clergy controlling the activities of the church in Mexico and the borderlands, and (3) the Catholic priests--the regular clergy who were bound by vows of poverty and chastity and who fought from the earliest days for what they felt to be in the best interests of the native Indians, or Gentiles."[13]

In 1536, reports reached Mexico from a handful of survivors of a Spanish ship which had been wrecked off the coast of central Texas--thereby stimulating interest in the northern territories. These survivors were led by Cabeza de Vaca--who had lived as a slave and medicine man among various Indian tribes for nearly six years. To escape death, the resourceful Spaniard learned all that he could from the Indians--their language, their habits, and their lore. During this time De Vaca and three of his companions journeyed west. His fame as a medicine man won food and protection for them. Finally in 1536 the survivors came upon a Spanish slave-hunting expedition near the Gulf of California in the state of Sonora, Mexico, then called New Spain.[14]

On July 24, 1536, Cabeza de Vaca and his party reached "Mexico City carrying exaggerated tales of the wonders they had seen. They lighted the fires of avarice for the treasures of 'Cibola,' the seven cities of gold, 'El Gran Quivera' which lured to the north several exploring parties, the most famous and significant of which was led by the Spanish adventurer, Coronado, in 1540-1542.

Other Expeditions into the Southwest

"Scouting parties from the Coronado expedition traveled as far west as the Grand Canyon, north to the plains of Kansas, across the Arkansas River, and back and forth over the vast Texas territory."[15] At first the Indians were peaceful and friendly, with the exception of the Zuni--and they received the Spaniards without hostility--but their friendliness soon turned to hatred and fear due to the exploitation and greed of the explorers. Many Spaniards, who returned to Mexico empty-handed with only interesting tales, a few buffalo and no gold, left behind them a heritage of fear and hatred for the white man. This hatred, which was reinforced during subsequent meetings with Europeans, plagued both Spaniards and the English who immigrated at a later date, until the final subjugation of the Indians some seventy-five years ago. However, Spanish horses which were left behind developed into the wild herds that transformed the lives of the plains Indians and made them formidable obstacles to the settlement of the west by Anglo colonists from the east coast.

Exploitation of Indians in Mexico

"Despite the original papal decree and the best efforts of Queen Isabella, the native Indians of Mexico were ruthlessly exploited by the Colonial government and the Spanish settlers." To obtain labor for their enterprises, the colonists at first had recourse to two institutions: the institution of "slavery" and the institution of "encomienda" or trusteeship. "The Spaniards were familiar with slavery....They had recently sold into slavery the entire population of the Canary Islands.... They were confronted now with a new, unlimited slavery in which a human being was treated as a mere commodity, to be sold to mines, sugar mills, and farms, and to be used as an expendable resource."[16]

"Encomienda" System of Indian Labor

To receive Indians in "encomienda," on the other hand, meant that the "encomendero" or trustee received rights to tribute payments and unrestricted personal services for a stipulated number of Indians living in designated villages.

"Brutally enforced labor, a series of epidemics and various other ills of the white man proved so fatal to the Indians that, within a relatively few years after the arrival of the Spaniards, fewer than five million (one-sixth to one-half of the original population) were left. Many tribes disappeared entirely during this period. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that the Indian population of Mexico again reached the numbers which are estimated to have lived there before the Spanish Invasion."[17]

Indians--Vassals of the Crown

To guard against the rise of combinations of power that could rival the authority of the crown, the king divorced the right to receive Indian tribute from the control of Indian labor. The Indians were declared to be direct vassals of the crown like the colonists themselves; this did not mean than the Indians were to be free to act as they liked. It did mean that no private person could lay hands on Indians without prior license from the crown. The Indians were to be royal wards under the control of crown officers. "These officers would see to it that no Indian remained idle, with satanic thoughts to plague his unoccupied mind."[18]

Origin of the Mission Plan

By 1510, the priests on Hispaniola--present-day Dominican Republic and Haiti--had protested against the "encomienda" system so effectively that they were given permission by the Spanish crown to change it. However, their leader, Pedro de Cordova, who had been one of the leaders against the encomienda system, refused to take on the task of remedying the evils through a new system. "He elected instead to propagate the faith through a mission plan, whereby the Indians were to be segregated in missions and so protected from exploitation by the ruthless Spanish landowners and the military. However well-intended, this plan resulted in the firm establishment of Catholicism in Latin America and ultimately in the overthrow of Spanish rule, since the revolutions in the early nineteenth century were led by priests who aligned themselves with the natives against the Catholic hierarchy and the colonial government."[19]

Discovery of California

While Lower, or Baja California was discovered by a sailing expedition headed by Diego Bezerra de Mendoza in 1533, credit for the discovery of Alta California is given to Juan Rodriquez Cabrillo. a Portuguese navigator sailing under the flag of Spain and seeking a passage to the coast of Asia. On September 28, 1542, "two ships pitched and rolled along their uncertain way from Mexico made a brave sight as they swept in upon the smooth waters of San Diego Bay and dropped their anchors under the shelter of Point Loma. They were the first ships that ever rested on those waters..."[20]

Naming of California

Additional coastal voyages of exploration were made from time to time, but the conditions were very hazardous and the crews suffered severely from scurvy. Bad weather, the discouragements of finding nothing of value, and the hostility of the Indian tribes along the central coastal areas discouraged for over a hundred and fifty years further attempts to explore and settle the territory which was then thought to be an island. California "was named for Califia, a legendary Amazonian-type queen described in Garcia Ordonez de Montalvo's story, Las Sergas de Esplandian, written in Madrid in 1510. According to his historian Herrera, the name California was bestowed by Cortes himself when he visited Santa Cruz (now La Paz, at the tip of Baja California) in 1535 and attempted unsuccessfully to found a colony there."[21]

Fifty Years of Spanish Discoveries and Explorations

During the fifty years that followed the discovery of the New World, the Spaniards accomplished many amazing things: They explored the shores of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico; Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and discovered the great ocean that lay beyond the Americas; Cortes conquered the Aztecs; Pizarro took Cusco, the capital of the Inca Empire, and secured for Spain all of Andean South America; they explored the major rivers of South America and settled in hundreds of places from Mexico in the north to Paraguay in the south.

C. Colonial Period--1521-1821

Early Settlements in Southwest

New Mexico

"The earliest permanent borderland settlements were founded in New Mexico by a Spaniard, Juan de Onate, who had become wealthy from silver holdings in Zacatecas. Bringing some four hundred settlers, hundreds of 'carretas' loaded with supplies, and thousands of head of livestock, de Onate made his way up to the Pueblo area near the head waters of the Rio Grande in present-day northern New Mexico. There he established a series of settlements around a chain of missions. Wiped out by hostile Indians less than a hundred years after their founding, many of the settlements were re-established twelve years later and still exist today.

Arizona

"Explorations and settlements in Arizona owed their modest existence to a remarkable explorer-priest, Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino, who was born at Trent in the Austrian Tyrol in 1640. After joining the Jesuit Order, he came to Mexico in 1680 and was sent in 1683 on a voyage to Baja California. In 1687, Fr. Kino founded the mission Nuestra Senora de los Dolores, about 120 miles south of present-day Tucson. He established three others in the same area during the next three years.

"On coming to Mexico, Fr. Kino, a trained map maker, had decided that California was a peninsula, but accounts of de Onate's New Mexico expedition of 1604-1605 cast doubt on this theory. Fr. Salvatierra, another Jesuit charged with establishing a chain of missions in Baja California, also believed that it was an island. Between 1693 and the time of his death at 71 in 1711, among the Pima Indians, Fr. Kino made more than fifty different explorations, developing maps of such detail and accuracy that they were not improved on for more than a hundred years. He demonstrated conclusively that "California no es Ysla"-- California was not an island--and the coasts of Asia lay many thousands of miles away.

Texas

"Spanish settlements in Texas, begun in the seventeenth century, were never of any great significance because of effective resistance by hostile Indians. It was the first of the territories to attract enough English settlers to wrest control from the Spaniards, and in 1836, it broke away as an independent territory after the Spanish government had been succeeded by a weak Mexican coalition headed at that time by the arrogant Santa Anna."22

1. The Settlement of California--1697-1848

Decline of Spanish Power

After the defeat of the Spanish Armada by the British in 1588, Spain's strength as a world power declined--not even the tremendous wealth which flowed steadily from "New Spain" could support the costs of maintaining the government or shoring up inept rulers. In contrast, England's power steadily increased: she established colonies on the Atlantic seaboard which threatened Spain's control of the New World; her privateering ships, commanded by daring captains, became increasingly effective in waylaying and capturing the cargoes of treasure ships and galleons on their return trip from the Philippines.

"From the time of Prince Henry the Navigator, Portugal had controlled the Indian Ocean and the trade routes around the tip of Africa, so that Spain's best route lay across the Pacific and around her colonies in Central and South America.... The prevailing winds carried these ships eastward across the Pacific to a point of land midway up the coast of what is now California. This territory, however, had been claimed for England by Sir Francis Drake in 1579 when he had landed in what is called Drake's Bay, north of present-day San Francisco, and raised the English flag, naming the area New Albion. Other explorers moving west across Canada threatened to strengthen England's claim to the land along the Pacific coast.

Russia Explores Pacific Coast

"An additional threat was posed by Russia. Following Bering's explorations, the Russians established fur posts along the coast of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands and were ranging farther down the coast in search of the valuable sea otter.

"Thus it was that, more than 200 years after Cabrillo's original voyages of discovery, Spain and the Spanish colonial government decided that it would be expeditious to set up permanent colonies along the California coast. The idea of establishing refitting stations for the Philippine galleons after their long voyage across the Pacific was far from new; but the threat of loss of the entire California territory to the British or the "Muscovites" was required to make the idea a reality.

Establishment of Spanish Missions in Baja California

"Between 1697 and 1769, the year of the founding of San Diego de Alcala, eighteen missions were established on the peninsula of Baja California--all but one by the Jesuit order. Mission Loreto, founded in 1697 by Fr. Salvatierra, was the political and ecclesiastical capitol of both Lower and Upper California until 1824. Unfortunately the Jesuits lost favor with the Spanish colonial government, partly because of their efforts and pressures for educating the natives; they were succeeded by friars of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, headed by the remarkable Franciscan, Fr. Junipero Serra, a native of Majorca.

Spain's Action to Counter Russia's Encroachment

"A dispatch from Spain to the viceroy of the colonial government in Mexico, Carlos Francisco de Croix, was passed on to the governor of Lower Calfiornia, Gaspar de Portola, warning against Russian attempts to take over Alta California and directing him to take appropriate action to frustrate those attempts. An expedition was planned from the presidio at Loreto, in Lower California, to establish a new presidio at Monterey. Sanction for this expedition was given by de Croix, the Viceroy, to Father Serra and the Spanish 'visitador' (inspector general) Jose de Galvez de Malaga, who had been sent to Mexico in 1761.

"Galvez and Fr. Serra completed their plans at a meeting in Santa Ana, Mexico, on October 31, 1768, and early the following year four expeditions, two by sea and two by land, set out for Monterey. The first land expedition was led by Captain Rivera y Moncada, accompanied by the Franciscan priests, Frs. Crespi and Lasuen. The second was led by Governor Portola himself, a Catalan officer of dragoons who was at the time forty-seven years old. Accompanying the second division was Fr. Junipero Serra, president of the new establishment....

Founding of the Missions in California

"The mission San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey, with its presidio, was consecrated by Fr. Serra on July 9, 1770 on a beach near Vizcaino's oak, the second in the chain of what ultimately consisted of 21 missions along the coast of Alta California, from San Diego to San Francisco. The founding of the mission and presidio chain culminated 235 years of effort on the part of Spain to gain control of the Californias. The missions were the major support of the Spanish colonial effort which also included four presidios at San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco, and three pueblos, or villages, of which only two, San Jose and Los Angeles, survived."[23]

2. The Founding of San Diego (See Footnote 24)

Cabrillo

Juan Rodriquez Cabrillo brought his two little ships out of a storm into the sheltered waters of San Diego Bay on September 28, 1542. "San Miguel" was the name given to this harbor discovered by Cabrillo.

Naming of San Diego

The name San Miguel remained for sixty years until the next white man dropped anchor inside the shelter of Point Loma. Don Sebastian Viscaino characteristically overlooked the name bestowed upon this landmark by Cabrillo and renamed it San Diego. It was 167 years after Viscaino's visit to San Diego before the white men again came. This time, however, the white men came to stay. Two expeditions set out from Mexico, one by land and one by sea.

Among the members of the land party was one in the robes of a Franciscan who was destined to become California's patron saint. Father Junipero Serra arrived in San Diego on July 1, 1769, to meet the two ships of the sea expedition and the advance group of the land party.

Old Town

On a hill which now overlooks Old Town and the western end of Mission Valley, in little over two weeks rude earthworks were thrown up around a nucleus of a presidio or fort; houses that were little more than huts were hastily constructed. The largest one was selected as the first mission in California. This settlement became the birthplace of civilization on the Pacific Coast of the United States on July 16, 1769.

D. Mexican Period--1821-1872

Mexico's Revolution of Independence

Among the external influences for Mexico's independence movement from Spain were the examples of the American and French revolutions. However, the Mexican struggle did not begin as an urban movement emanating from the capital, but rather began in the heart of the mining region of Queretaro. In its initial phase, it was almost a racial war waged by the mass of Indians and mestizos against the Spaniards.

The uprising, which had the fervor of a crusade, was led by Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a priest in the small village of Dolores near Queretaro, Mexico. On September 16, 1810, Hidalgo raised the standard of revolt against Spain, demanding Creole supremacy and the abolition of Indian tributes and caste distinctions. "El Grito de Dolores" (the cry of revolt) drew an immediate response from the country people. Soon Hidalgo "commanded a great mob of Indians and mestizos, with whose aid he took the provincial capital of Guanajuato. His success, however, was short-lived. Handicapped by incapable leadership and lack of organization, the rebels were no match for the less numerous but better disciplined loyal troops."25 The rebels were defeated early in 1811, and Hidalgo was captured, defrocked, and executed.

The uprising led by Hidalgo sparked the revolution which ended in 1821, with the establishment of a Mexican "empire" under Augustin de Iturbide, a Creole* ex-officer in the Spanish army. In 1823, the empire became a republic.

Each year, the 16th of September is celebrated as Mexico's independence day; the Hidalgo is honored as "the father of independence."

Aftermath of the Revolution

"The Constitution of 1824 embodied the federal principle of government; however, it was launched by well-meaning but inadequate presidents and former military heroes. A series of presidents followed each other in rapid succession during the following thirty years. Centralists replaced Federalists; monarchism again raised its head; finally, Santa Anna, with his bravado and his corrupting hold on the army, became dictator. A foreign war called forth patriotism unexcelled. Santa Anna fell, discredited by his own selfishness and by the loss of Texas and California in 1848. The republican constitution was again restored and the Indian Juarez arose to shame selfish politicians.

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* Creole: A white person descended from early Spanish settlers of Mexico.

Benito Juarez

"Benito Juarez, a full-blooded Indian, was born of poor parents in a small Zapotec village near Oaxaca. While still a child, Juarez went to work for a wealthy family in Oaxaca and so aroused the interest of his employer that he was given unusual opportunities to obtain an education. He first entered a seminary but discarded that vocation in order to study law; at the age of twenty-three he began his political career. Juarez eventually became president of Mexico in 1858 after the defection of president Comonfort, but his presidential career was stormy."[26]

Due to domestic instability and political corruption, Mexico found herself deeply in debt to foreign governments. Juarez recognized these debts and pledged his government to pay them, but Mexico's credit was gone. In October, 1861, France, England and Spain made an agreement to seize and hold the entry ports of Mexico until their claims were satisfied. However, Napoleon III had other plans; he proceeded to make Mexico a French "empire," setting up the Austrian Maximilian as Emperor, whereupon England and Spain withdrew from Mexico.

Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico

"In a battle on May 5, 1862, at the city of Puebla, mid-way between Vera Cruz and Mexico City, the Mexican troops of Juarez defeated the French forces of Maximilian.... Ironically, the victory of Juarez's forces under Diaz and Zaragosa at Puebla was only the beginning of the fight against Maximilian, who was not finally overthrown until five years later."[27]

Constitutional Government Re-established

After Maximilian's ultimate defeat and execution, the republican and federal form of government was re-established in Mexico; Juarez became president and served a short and stormy term which ended with his sudden death in 1872. A former colleague and prominent general in the Mexican army, Porfirio Diaz, succeeded to the presidency and held the post until he was deposed in 1911.

E. The Southwest--1821-1900

California Ranchos

From the original settlement of California in 1770 to the change from Spanish to Mexican control in 1821, the area had been relatively undivided: vast land-holdings had been allocated to the missions to be held in trust for the Indians, and a few grants of land had been given to soldiers under Portola and Fages. The beginning of Mexican rule in 1821 witnessed more than 700 allocations of land for ranchos to California settlers, including land from the missions which were expropriated in 1834 by Governor Pio Pico. The 25-year period of Mexican rule from 1821 to 1848 represents the full flowering of the California ranchos.

Mexican-American War

"In 1846, a movement in northern California, encouraged if not actually initiated by representatives of the United States government, resulted in the establishment of an independent government of Californians and the raising of the first Bear Flag in California. Disputes over Texas and other border problems led to armed clashes between forces of the United States and Mexico.

"Shortly thereafter the United States navy captured the Mexican Gulf city of Vera Cruz. Santa Anna was decisively defeated at Cerro Gordo and General Scott, with greatly superior forces, entered Mexico City on September 18, 1847.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

"Peace was formally re-established under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, concluded on February 2, 1848. By this treaty the Rio Grande was fixed as the southern boundary of Texas, thus ending the dispute which was credited with being the cause of the conflict. All of the territory north of an irregular line extending from El Paso, by way of the Gila River to the Pacific Ocean, was ceded to the United States.

"In return, the United States paid Mexico $15,000,000, assumed all claims of United States citizens against Mexico, and guaranteed certain rights and privileges to the Mexican citizens then living north of the newly established border. The guarantees included the honoring of land titles and claims, and full rights as citizens of the United States if, after one year, they elected to remain instead of moving south of the newly-defined border." [28]

The American citizenship granted in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo proved to be of a second-class variety. "People with Spanish names were often discouraged or even prevented from voting. Rarely did they hold office, except in New Mexico and (California). Public services were often less than public as far as they were concerned; justice was sometimes unequal for people (with Spanish names)."[29]

In addition, there was the imposition of heavy taxes on the land held by the former Mexican citizens by the government of the United States, exorbitant interest charges on loans, and misunderstandings created by the casual business practices of the Mexican rancheros, to whom a verbal agreement was binding. Moreover, troubles were already being experienced through the failure of the United States Land Claims Commission to honor the somewhat vague terms under which the land owners had held title under earlier Spanish and Mexican governments.

Spanish Ranchos Sold for Taxes

During relatively few years, many prominent Spanish-speaking families lost their lands and wealth. "A handful managed to hold on to their land for a few years but even they were wiped out when a disastrous drought in the early 1860's destroyed the hope that fortunes might thereby be recouped. By the time of the coming of the railroad in 1869, and during the years thereafter, virtually all of the land of southern California had passed into the hands of Yankee speculators who used it as the means for making fortunes in the land boom of the 1880's."[30]

American Conquest of the Southwest

"The American conquest of the Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest must be understood primarily in psychological terms, all the more so because they had not put up a real struggle. They had never found out for sure just what they could do, given a chance.... The Anglos brought in the vague promise, and sometimes the reality, of civil rights unknown to the people before; they sometimes established schools for children who certainly would have remained illiterate; they brought new kinds of employment in their railroads, mines, and industries. It was quite clear from the beginning, however, which group was in control."[31]

F. The 1900's--Mexico and the Southwest

Diaz Regime in Mexico

Diaz's long period of dictatorship in Mexico was marked by overtly good relations with foreign governments, apparent domestic stability and peacefulness. "Under the placid surface, however, Mexico was a seething cauldron of bitterness and incipient revolt. Diaz made repeated concessions to foreign business interests, primarily those of the United States, by which Mexico's natural resources and industrial potential were exploited. He revoked the 'ejido' plan under which peasants held communal lands which they were allowed to farm. He at least tolerated the reascendance of the Catholic lay clergy whose corruption and selfishness had led earlier to constitutional prohibitions aimed at abolishing the wealth and power which over the centuries had been concentrated in the hands of the clerical leaders."[32]

He favored the landed aristocracy who surrounded and supported him by passing a land law in 1894 which so disenfranchised small landowners that by 1910, 96.9 percent of the rural heads of families owned no land at all.

Mexican Revolution of 1910

The revolution which began in 1910, and brought about the ousting of Diaz, was also an attempt to end the corruption so prevalent during his reign. A period of turmoil followed during which a series of unstable governments tried and failed to win support, ending frequently with the assassination of the nominal president. Mexico was in chaos: bands of revolutionaries terrorized the country and eventually degenerated into bandit groups; the middle class and some of the wealthy landowners fled the country, a majority emigrating into the United States.

A history of "bad relations between the United States and Mexico dated back to the early in-migration of Yankees into California, the Texas revolt, the Mexican War and subsequent failure of the United States government to protect the rights of former Mexican citizens. Hostility, intensified by the exploitation of the masses for the benefit of foreign interest during the Diaz regime, became openly expressed hatred of the United States when a punitive expedition of 12,000 troops was sent into Mexico under General Pershing to capture and punish Pancho Villa, a Mexican rebel leader, for the massacre of 18 American miners at Santa Isabel in January, 1916."[33]

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Mexicans Emigrate to the United States

The mass emigration from Mexico to the United States during the revolutionary period was greatly accelerated by the demand for agricultural labor during World War I. More than a million Mexicans emigrated to the United States between 1910 and 1930. Then came the stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent economic depression.

With thousands on the relief roles of Los Angeles, welfare personnel and government officials decided that one solution to the domestic problem was to send back to Mexico those aliens who had come in during the boom days,since now they were not needed and were currently swelling the demand for relief funds.

Strike-Breaking Methods

Another bitter example of poor Mexican-American relations grew out of the strike-breaking methods of farm owners in the Imperial Valley during an unsuccessful attempt in the late 1920's and 30's to organize Mexican-American farm workers into agricultural unions.

"To organize such violence was, among others, one of the purposes of the Associated Farmers, constituted in 1934 'to foster and encourage respect for and to maintain law and order, to promote the prompt, orderly and efficient administration of justice' and to assist employers in securing the undisturbed picking and transportation of their crops. The Associated Farmers, a state-wide organization, was joined by local committees of farmers and their retainers who during the emergencies practically enforced the dictates of the labor bureaus. Behind the Associated Farmers and the vigilante committees there stood the less conspicuous federations, whose leadership was in close touch through interlocking directorates that extended their lines of communication into every major power center in the state.

"The enforcers were unquestionably successful in keeping the labor pool under control and wages on the level. The 1928 strike of the Confederacion de Uniones Obreras (Confederation of Labor Unions) was defeated by arrests and deportations. The threatened loss of the melon crop in the Imperial Valley 'led the local authorities,' as Professor Robert Glass Cleland noted, 'to use extra-constitutional methods in dealing with strikers.' The cotton strike of 1933 was broken by organized violence. In Lodi the angry farmers, literally up in arms, declared themselves against trial by jury in labor litigation 'as reminiscent of medievalism' and a pastime for boneheads. In Brawley in 1934 a meeting of workers was invaded by police officers who attacked with tear gas and clubs. Sheriff's deputies and special guards numbering more than 400 put down the 1936 strike in Orange County. The Filipinos in Salinas were overwhelmed by mass violence and backstage maneuvers. The Mexican strikers in Santa Paula were evicted in 1941 in large numbers and their places given to dust bowl refugees. Professor Cleland summarized his view of wage controls and their enforcement tersely. He wrote in 1947: 'California's industrial agriculture can exhibit all the customary weapons....gas, goon squads, propaganda, bribery.'"[34]

With the outbreak of World War II, young Mexican-Americans enlisted in the armed forces in great numbers and served with notable distinction. "Seventeen Congressional Medals of Honor were awarded to Mexican-Americans, more than to any other group in terms of their proportional representation in the total population."[35]

W.W.II
Mexican
"Zoot-suiters"

In contrast to the heroic deeds of Mexican-Americans in uniform, another element of the ethnic group caused a sensation in the United States. "Trouble broke out in Los Angeles in 1943 when servicemen on leave engaged in a series of fights with so-called "zoot-suiters," young Mexican-Americans who affected an extreme style of dress characterized by tight-cuffed trousers, long, draped coats, and duck-tail haircuts. Whatever "the initial provocation, the police made little effort to intervene, and the local press published inflammatory articles during a week of rioting characterized by increasingly unwarranted attacks on any young person who might be of Mexican descent. Marauding gangs of servicemen and Anglo civilians roamed through the barrios, destroying property, beating up Mexican-Americans without provocation, and venting their hatred on what were described as 'delinquents and slackers.'

"A protest from the Mexican government to the United States State Department finally resulted in establishment of military control and the end of the riots. Respectable citizens who had been caught up in the mass hysteria were so shocked at themselves and their fellow citizens that a counter-wave of concern for the welfare of the Mexican-American population developed. Since that time there have been continuous improvements in relations, but the aftermath of bitterness lingers."[36]

Footnotes

1. E. Farley Hunter and Duke Saunders, Background Information Related to the Mexican-American Child (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Schools), p. 38.

2. Dana Gardner Munro, The Latin American Republics; a History, 2nd ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.), p. 5.

3. *Ibid*.

4. Eric Wolf, Sons of the Shaking Earth (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), pp. 69-101.

5. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

6. Wolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-151.

7. *Ibid*, pp. 34-47.

8. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

9. Irving B. Richmond, California Under Spain and Mexico—1535-1847 (Boston: The Riverside Press of Cambridge, Houghton Mifflin Co.), p. 34 ff.

10. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

11. *Ibid*, p. 42.

12. *Ibid*.

13. *Ibid*.

14. Lynn I. Perrigo, Our Spanish Southwest (Dallas: Banks Upshaw and Co.), pp. 19-21.

15. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

16. Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

17. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

18. Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

19. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p.

20. William E. Smythe, History of San Diego—1542-1908 (San Diego: The History Company), p. 27.

21. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

22. *Ibid*, pp. 46-47.

23. Ibid, pp. 47-49.

24. Adapted from William E. Smythe, History of San Diego--1542-1908 (San Diego: The History Company), p.27-47.

25. Munro, op. cit., p. 143.

26. Marcus de Leon, "WANTED: A New Education Philosophy for the Mexican-American," Journal of Secondary Education (November, 1959), p. 19.

27. Hunter, op. cit., p. 54.

28. Ibid, pp. 52-53.

29. Jane Macnab Christian and Chester C. Christian, Jr., "Spanish Language and Culture in the Southwest," Language Loyalty in the United States; the Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups, ed. Joshua A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton & Co.), p. 286.

30. Hunter, op. cit., p. 53.

31. Christian, loc. cit.

32. Hunter, op. cit., p. 55.

33. Ibid, pp. 55-56.

34. Ernesto Galarza, Merchants of Labor; the Mexican Bracero Story (San Jose, California: The Rosicrucian Press, Ltd.), p. 39.

35. Hunter, op. cit., p. 56.

36. Ibid, p. 57.

UNIT II: FAMOUS MEXICANS IN EARLY CALIFORNIA HISTORY

"Much of early California history is embodied in the lives and exploits of its most famous citizens. The following list of personalities is illustrative of the type of Mexican citizens who were prominent in political, economic, and cultural facets of the early California community. The origin of these people was quite diverse: some came from Spain, a few from South America. and many from Mexico; however, the majority were born in California, which was at that time a territory governed by Mexico. In spite of their varied background, they had one element in common—they were all Mexican citizens and after 1848, citizens of the United States. Their importance in the community was not completely eclipsed with the change of government; some played a vital part in drafting the first constitution and in the pioneer politics of the new State of California."[1]

A. Juan Bautista Alvarado

Juan Bautista Alvarado was born in Monterey, California, on February 14, 1809. He was a central figure in California history for several years. With the help of Jose Castro, Alvarado led the rebellion which usurped California territorial governorship from Governor Gutierrez. Alvarado was elected revolutionary governor of California from December 7, 1836, to July 9, 1837. He became constitutional governor by Mexican appointment in August of the same year and held the post of governor of California until December 31, 1842. Alvarado died July 13, 1882.

B. Luis Antonio Arguello

Luis Antonio Arguello was born in San Francisco in 1784. He became commandant of California in 1806 and led an expedition to the Columbia River. Arguello was the first provisional governor of California chosen by election and also the first native of the area to hold that post from 1822-1825. Don Luis, as a military officer and governor, left an excellent record of honesty, ability and popularity. He often disregarded the letter of Spain and Mexican laws in favor of what he believed to be the welfare of his country and never for his own interests. He died in San Francisco in 1830.

C. Santiago Arguello

Santiago Arguello was born in Monterey, California, in 1791. He served as paymaster of the Spanish garrison in San Diego in 1818, and later, in 1836, was made alcalde (mayor) of that city. From 1827 to 1835, his military career was very active under Mexican rule; in 1829 he was granted the Tia Juana Rancho by the Mexican government and in 1846 was given the lands which had belonged to the San Diego Mission. During the Mexican War, however, he favored the American cause and gave aid to the Americans. He died on his Tia Juana ranch in 1862.

D. Juan Bandini

Juan Bandini was born in Lima, Peru, in 1800 and was also educated there. Bandini's public life began in 1827 as a member of the *diputación*; from 1828 to 1832 he was *subcomisario* of revenues at San Diego. Don Juan's early years of political life were not in any way creditable. Later, however, he espoused the United States cause, furnished supplies for Stockton's batallion, was offered the collectorship, and named as a member of the legislative council in 1847. He became Alcalde (mayor) of San Diego in 1848. He performed honestly and efficiently the duties of his various official positions. Juan Bandini was one of the most noted of the Californians of his day, and was an eloquent speaker and fluent writer. He died in Los Angeles in 1859.

E. Jose Raimundo Carrillo

Jose Raimundo Carrillo was the founder of the Carrillo family in California. In 1769 he came to California as a soldier and soon rose to the rank of captain. His early military services in California were at Santa Barbara and Monterey; he did not arrive in San Diego until 1806. He became commandant of the San Diego Presidio from 1807-9 and was buried on Presidio Hill on November 10, 1809.

F. Jose Antonio Estudillo

Jose Antonio Estudillo was born in Monterey in 1805. A few years after arriving in San Diego he was granted the Otay Rancho in 1829 by the Mexican government. From 1836 to 1838 he was mayor and later a judge in San Diego. He remained neutral during the Mexican War and became the first Assessor of San Diego County in the new state of California.

G. Miguel De Pedroena

Don Miguel Pedrorena, a native of Spain, arrived in San Diego in 1838. In 1845 he married Mario Antonia Estudillo, daughter of Jose Antonio Estudillo. During the Mexican War of 1846, Miguel de Pedrorena favored the American side. From 1847 to 1848 he served as Collector of Customs in San Diego and in Monterey. On March 21, 1850, Miguel de Pedrorena died in San Diego.

H. Pio Pico

Pio Pico was born in San Gabriel in 1801, and moved to San Diego after the death of his father in 1819. He was the leader of the southern opposition to Governor Victoria. He later was a member of the 1839-41 junta which protested against Monterey's claims as the capital of California. In 1841 he was granted the Santa Margarita and Las Flores ranchos by the Mexican government. In 1842, he was supposed to have plotted in favor of having England take over California. On the downfall of Micheltorena in 1845, Pio Pico, having taken some part in the campaign, became temporary governor. His office was confirmed in Mexico and he served in this capacity from 1845 to 1846. Pio Pico was the last Mexican governor of California before California became part of the United States.

I. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo

Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo was born in Monterey, California in 1808. He entered the military service in 1823 and in 1834 was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. He was sent as comisionado to secularize Solano mission, and was granted the Petaluma rancho in northern California by the Mexican Government. In 1835 he founded Sonoma, and was made director of colonization on the northern frontier, engaging also in Indian campaigns. In 1849, after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Vallejo became a member of the constitutional convention and, in 1850, a member of the first state senate of California.

Unit II--Footnotes

1. The biographical information for this unit was adapted from William C. Smythe's History of San Diego--1542-1907, pp. 161-177.

UNIT III: MEXICAN IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

A. Historical Survey

Brief Historical Overview

"Migration from Mexico is deeply rooted in the past. It follows trails which are among the most ancient on the North American continent. Psychologically and culturally, Mexicans have never emigrated to the Southwest: they have returned. In many cases, they have returned for the second, third, fourth or fifth time. It is altogether possible that there are immigrants from Sonora now living in Los Angeles whose grandparents or great-grandparents once lived in the old pueblo or who, as Sonora miners, made the long trek to the goldfields."[1]

"The story of Mexican-Americans in this country is in large measure the story of immigrants and their children and childrens' children. In 1960, the number of persons who were born in Mexico or were of Mexican or mixed percentage totaled more than 1.7 million; and they accounted for 45 percent of the Mexican-American population of 3.8 million. The remainder were the descendants of still earlier immigrants and of the original settlers of Hispano-Mexican origin, who became citizens when the Southwest territories were incorporated into the United States."[2] (Chart A)

Five Factors of Mexican Immigration

Five main factors have characterized the immigration of Mexican citizens into the United States.

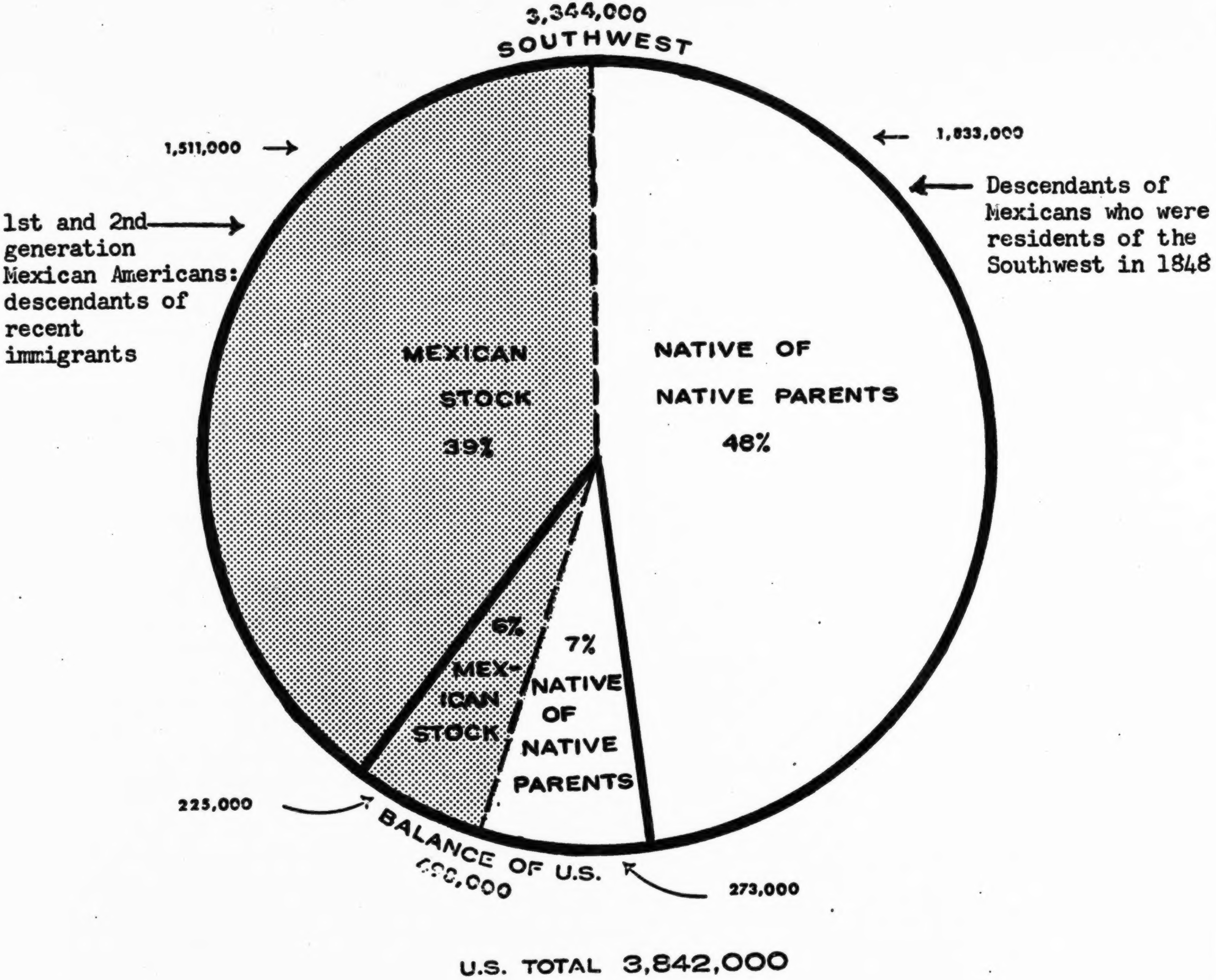
First, Mexican immigration occurred comparatively late in United States history. While Europeans had made their presence known for many years, the first significant wave of recorded immigration from Mexico for presumably continuous residence did not begin before 1910. This was just about the time when total world immigration into the United States had reached its peak and started to decline. Again, during the twenties, and later after World War II, the number of immigrants from Mexico has been conspicuously greater than at any other time. Refer to Table 1, pg. 31.

Second, there has been considerable variety among the types of Mexican immigrants: legal immigrants who may be seasoned agricultural workers; others who commute daily to their jobs in the United States while residing in Mexico; daily or short-term visitors, vacationers or businessmen from Mexico; and, of course, the immigrant who is desirous of permanent residency in the United States. Not to be overlooked, however, is the large number of illegal immigrants who cross the border in search of greater economic opportunity in the United States.

Third, the intensity of the immigration from Mexico has appeared to be abnormally great primarily because it has been concentrated during the three previously mentioned periods of time rather than

CHART A

Estimated Mexican-Americans in the United States, 1960



Source: Grebler, Leo. Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and Its Implications, p. 2.

consistent during the total period from 1910 to the present.

Fourth, our land boundary, which is approximately 1,600 miles long and devoid of unusual geographic and man-made obstacles, makes complete security from illegal entry impossible. Common terms such as "border jumper" and "wetback" are indications of the frequency of these informal migrations across the border. The term "border jumper" is self-explanatory; however, the name "wetback," which also denotes an illegal Mexican immigrant, derives from the fact that many times these aliens swim or wade across the Rio Grande River and upon entering the United States have wet clothing.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF MEXICAN-IMMIGRANTS COMPARED WITH ALL IMMIGRANTS, FIVE-YEAR PERIODS, 1900-1964

Period [a]	Mexican[b]	Total	Mexican as % of Total
1900-1904	2,259	3,255,149	.07
1905-1909	21,732	4,947,239	.44
1910-1914	82,588	5,174,701	1.60
1915-1919	91,075	1,172,679	7.77
1920-1924	249,248	2,774,600	8.98
1925-1929	238,527	1,520.910	15.68
1930-1934	19,200	426,953	4.50
1935-1939	8,737	272,422	3.21
1940-1944	16,548	203,589	8.13
1945-1949	37,742	653,019	5.78
1950-1954	78,723	1,099,035	7.16
1955-1959	214,746	1,400,233	15.34
1960-1964	217,827	1,419,013	15.35

[a] Fiscal Years

[b] Classified by country of birth, except for the periods 1935-1939 and 1940-1944 in which the data refer to Mexico as the country of last permanent residence. This classification had to be adopted because the reports for several years in these periods do not furnish data by country of birth. The statistics for periods for which both classifications are reported indicate that numerical differences are relatively small. The "country of birth" classification was adopted here as the basic one not only because it is definitionally superior but also because detailed characteristics of immigrants are reported on this basis.

Source: Grebler, Leo. Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and Its Implications, p. 8.

Original Source: Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and its predecessor agencies.

Fifth, the relative closeness of the two countries and ease of immigration has produced a situation whereby the Mexican immigrant is far less committed to his new home than was his European counterpart. If he is not satisfied with his lot in the United States, he experiences little difficulty in returning to his native land. Voluntary return to Mexico has been continuous; however, forced return of Mexicans by United States authorities was concentrated during two periods: the Depression years and "Operation Wetback," a deportation program launched by the Immigration and Naturalization Service from 1954-1955.

The Period Before 1910

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

Under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, executed on February 2, 1848, at the close of the Mexican-American War, Mexico ceded to the United States an enormous piece of land represented by the present states of California, Arizona and New Mexico. In addition, the previous annexation of Texas by the United States was acknowledged by Mexico. All the people residing in this vast territory were given a year to decide whether they wanted to move into Mexico and retain their Mexican citizenship, or remain in their homes and become citizens of the United States. Approximately 75,000 Spanish-speaking people chose to remain in the Southwest; of this number about 7,500 were in California, 1,000 in Arizona, 60,000 in New Mexico and 5,000 in Texas. In addition to the citizenship provisions, the treaty guaranteed the political and property rights of the native residents, and also allowed them freedom of choice in such matters as language and religion.[3]

Class Distinction of Immigrants

The new citizens were divided socially by very sharp and distinct class and status lines. The Spaniards who had previously held important positions in the church, government and military formed the apex of the social pyramid. The large base was filled by the Indian peons who had provided the manpower for the provincial enterprises; while the Mexicans, the product of the mixture of these two races, found themselves placed socially between them.

The Mexicans became the *soldiers*, *artisans* and "*vaqueros*"--cowboys--on the land owned by the descendants of the earlier Spaniards. They spoke a dialect of Spanish which was different from that of the *patron*, the Spanish landlord; they were usually illiterate, and seldom allowed to occupy positions of importance in the society. Many barriers existed so that marriage between a Spaniard and a Mexican was unthinkable. Many of these prejudices exist today.

Mexican Miners

The first people to receive the news of the discovery of gold in California in 1848 were the miners in Northern Mexico. By the middle of the summer, 5,000 miners had left Sonora, Mexico, for the California goldfields. They followed the old De Anza trail to Yuma, crossed the Colorado and then proceeded to Los Angeles by way of the San Gorgonio Pass. "Between 1848 and 1850, ten thousand Sonorans passed through Los Angeles each spring and the processions continued for several years."[4]

The Mexican miners tended to concentrate in the "southern" part of the Sierras—in the counties of Calaveras, Tuolumne, Mariposa and Stanislaus, and predominantly in the mining town of Sonora which was named for them. The Anglo-Americans who arrived in California later proceeded first to the northern and central parts of the range, but later moved into the already occupied southern sections.

"'The Mexicans,' writes Walter Noble Burns, 'who poured into California during the gold rush, were still inflamed with the anti-American prejudices engendered during the Mexican War (and the ensuing Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo). Their attitude towards Americans was hostile from the first and, in return, the Americans regarded them as secret enemies and treated them with frank contempt.' One of the first acts of the California legislature was the adoption of a foreign-miners' license tax which was aimed specifically at eliminating the competition of Mexican miners. Shortly after this act was passed, a mob of two thousand American miners descended on Sonora, California, 'firing at every Mexican in sight.' The camp was burned to the ground and a hundred or more Mexicans were rounded up and driven into a corral or stockade. During the week that the rioting lasted, scores of Mexicans were lynched and murdered. In the wake of the riots, most of the Mexicans abandoned their claims and fled to the Spanish-speaking counties in the southern part of the state. One of these former miners, Joaquin Murieta, became the leader of a famous band of Mexican outlaws."[5]

"No one knows precisely how many Mexican immigrants came into the United States before 1910. Besides the early miners from Sonora, Mexico, shepherds, cowboys and farm workers crossed the border in both directions as if there were no boundary at all. During the closing of the 19th century, the migrations which were still informal and intermittent, were probably significant in relation to the sparse total population in the areas both north and south of the border. Controls were so minimal that no records whatever were kept from 1886 to 1893, and even the statistics for subsequent years must be considered as rough approximations."[6] At the turn of the century, controls and statistical reporting at the Mexican border concentrated on the illegal entry of the Chinese who were barred under the Exclusion Act of 1882 and of other people who were not of Mexican origin. It was only during the 1907-1908 period that more comprehensive controls patterned on those at the Canadian border were instituted.

Period from 1910-1940

Mexican Revolution

Political Refugees

Mexican immigration into the United States during the 30-year period from 1910-1940 was greatly affected by many international situations. The first was the Mexican Revolution which began in 1910. Political and civil unrest in our neighboring country caused a substantial movement of representatives of all social classes into the United States. "In addition to upper - and middle-class refugees who felt threatened by the revolution, the immigrants included large numbers of persons who simple sought escape from the hazards ... turmoil and uncertainties associated with a fierce, protracted and bloody conflict."[7] Many of these people settled in the United States with the belief they would be only temporary residents and would return to their native land when conditions were better. A descendant of one refugee family states that as a child he had listened to innumerable family discussions of the time when they would return "home"; he was eighteen years old before he realized that he was here to stay.

The aftereffects of the 1910 Revolution were conspicuous well into the 1920's: depleted resources, lack of capital, an absence of foreign investment, little job security for the newly enfranchised peons, and very slow implementation of land reform. These factors, coupled with a larger population in 1920 than before the Revolution, provided for a lower standard of living than Mexico had known previously.

Conditions north of the border during this period were ideal to provide employment for this surplus Mexican labor.

Need for Agricultural Labor

Since the beginning of the century, domestic changes such as the increased urbanization of the population, new canning processes, together with the development of refrigeration cars and large-scale commercial farming in the Southwestern United States on irrigated farms, created the need for a large agricultural labor force. The domestic manpower shortage accompanying World War I was made even more critical by reduced immigration from Europe and the curtailment of Oriental labor due to the exclusive measure of 1924. While the demands for American farm products increased with the promulgation of the war, the available farm workers decreased in number. As a matter of comparison, farming techniques were such during this period that 13 man-hours of labor were required to grow and harvest an acre of wheat, while 125 man-hours were utilized in an acre of lettuce and 500 man-hours per acre of strawberries.

Under these circumstances, growers could justify opening the gates at the Mexican border. No restrictions were placed upon the immigrant farm worker if he could meet the general qualifications of age, literacy and health; the meeting of these general qualifications would lessen the possibility of his becoming a ward of the country. Even these were overlooked when the labor shortage became more desperate at the height of the war. Statistics compiled by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service show that over 170,000 Mexicans crossed the border during the 1910's, and that figure more than doubled during the 1920's when recorded crossings exceeded 480,000. (Refer to Table 1 p. 31 .)

"To appreciate what Mexican labor meant to the economy of the Southwest, one simple obvious fact needs to be stressed, namely, the desert or semi-desert character of the region. In the San

Agricultural Development of Southwestern United States

Joaquin, Imperial, Salt River, Mesella and lower Rio Grande valleys, temperatures of 100, 110 and 112 degrees are not uncommon. Those who have never visited the copper mines of Arizona in July or the cotton fields of the San Joaquin Valley in September or the cantaloupe fields of Imperial Valley in June are hardly in a position even to imagine what Mexican workers have endured in these areas.... It was not easy to find in these years a large supply of labor that would brave the desert heat and perform the monotonous stoop-labor, hand-labor tasks which the agriculture of the Southwest demanded. Under these circumstances, the use of Mexican labor was largely non-competitive and nearly indispensable."[8]

Other Types of Labor

Although the majority of the immigrants were employed as farm workers, special allowances were made to utilize their labor in other critical areas as shortages occurred. Many served as railroad workers, miners, machinists and mechanists, painters, wood finishers, etc.

The Depression

Another situation occurring during the third decade of this century was the Depression in the United States. Its effect upon the domestic scene is exemplified by the great reversal in our immigrant labor policies. Whereas in the 1920's the problem was how to get enough cheap farm labor, the 1930's found itself with an overabundance, both domestic and foreign.

With masses of unemployed and homeless United States citizens wandering the country searching for work, no excuses could justify the importation of foreigners to compete for the rapidly vanishing jobs. The only solution was to send back to Mexico those same workers who had been actively recruited only a few years previously. The repatriation took many forms. Some Mexicans returned voluntarily using money which they had saved, others were officially expelled by United States federal authorities, while many were assisted by welfare agencies and the Mexican government itself.

Status of Immigrants

The consideration of the legal status of these people of Mexican descent was sometimes investigated but more often overlooked; were they legal or illegal immigrants, temporary workers or permanent residents, United States citizens or aliens?

Deportation

"Local agencies, saddled with mounting relief and unemployment problems, used a variety of methods to rid themselves of 'Mexican': persuasion, coaxing, incentive, unauthorized coercion, and fear. Special railroad trains were made available, with fare at least to the Mexican border prepaid; the withholding or stoppage of relief payments and welfare services was used effectively when necessary; and people were often rounded up by local agencies to fill carloads of human cargo. In an atmosphere of pressing emergency, little if any time was spent on determining whether the methods infringed upon the rights of citizens. For example, children born in the United States were shipped back along with their parents regardless of legal status. When the children later wished to re-enter this country in the belief that they were United States citizens, they could be excluded if they had meanwhile voted in Mexican elections or served in the Mexican Army without realizing that such action meant the loss of United States citizenship.

"The most graphic account of this episode has come from Carey McWilliams who witnessed it at close range in Los Angeles. He observed that federal deportation proceedings were of small help to local officials bent on speedy solutions since they involved delay and expense and would only apply to cases of illegal entry, and he described the rationale and procedure as follows:

> It was discovered that, in wholesale lots, the Mexicans could be shipped to Mexico City for $14.70 per capita. The sum represented less than the cost of a week's board and lodging. And so, about February, 1931, the first trainload was dispatched, and shipments at the rate of about one a month have continued ever since. A shipment, consisting of three special trains left Los Angeles on December 8. The loading commenced at about six o'clock in the morning and continued for hours. More than twenty-five such special trains had left the Southern Pacific Station before last April.
>
> The repatriation programme is regarded locally as a piece of consummate statescraft. The average per family cost of executing it is $71.14, including food and transportation. It cost Los Angeles county $77,249.29 to repatriate one shipment of 6,024. It would have cost $424,933.70 to provide this number with such charitable assistance as they would have been entitled to had they remained—a saving of $347,468.41.
>
> Thousands have departed of their own volition. In battered Fords carrying two and three families and all their worldly possessions, they are drifting back to el terenaso—the big land. They have been shunted back and forth across the border for so many years by war, revolution, and the law of supply and demand, that it would seem that neither expatriation or repatriation held any more terror for them.

"The statistical record of the exodus is incomplete, but some of its major dimensions are shown in (Tables 2 and 3, pp. 37-38). In the four years of the 1930-34 period for which information is available, more than 64,000 Mexican aliens departed without federal proceedings, as against a little over 20,000 in the last half of the 1920's. This is more or less voluntary exodus subsided in the latter phase of the depression, but the entire decade was characterized by net out-migration--probably the only extended period of such migration in the history of movements across the Mexican border. Nearly 89,000 Mexican across departed in the 1930's while 27,900 immigrated on permanent visa. Deportations and other expulsions under federal proceedings, which are not included in the above figure on

TABLE 2

APPARENT NET IMMIGRATION FROM MEXICO
1920-1939

Fiscal Year	No. of Immigrants	Emigrant Aliens[a]	Apparent Net	Emigration as % of Immigration
1920	51,042	6,606	44,436	12.9
1921	29,603	5,705	23,898	19.3
1922	18,246	6,285	11,961	34.4
1923	62,709	2,660	60,049	4.2
1924	87,648	1,926	85,722	2.2
1925	32,378	2,954	29,424	9.1
1926	42,638	3,158	39,480	7.4
1927	66,766	2,957	63,809	4.4
1928	57,765	3,957	53,808	6.8
1929	38,980	7,195	31,785	18.5
1930	11,915	6,355	5,560	53.3
1931	2,627	14,442	-11,815	549.8
1932	1,674	37,074	-35,400	2,214.7
1933	1,514	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1934	1,470	6,501	-5,031	442.2
1935	1,232	6,720	-5,488	545.4
1936	1,308	5,218	-3,910	398.9
1937	1,918	3,745	-1,827	195.2
1938	2,014	3,667	-1,653	182.1
1939	2,265	5,117	-2,852	225.9

[a] Mexican emigrant aliens departed, by country of last permanent residence. This latter designation means that the figures may include non-Mexicans who had resided in Mexico before they immigrated to the United States. In contrast, the immigration data used here refer to persons born in Mexico. In addition to this minor defect, there are other potentially more serious ones. It is not clear whether the data on departures of emigrants refer only to aliens who had entered on permanent visa. They may include non-immigrant aliens. For example, 2,187 of the 3,158 Mexican aliens who departed in the fiscal year 1926 had resided one to five years in the United States (Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the fiscal year 1926). Further, a true statistic on emigration should include Mexican aliens who had become U.S. citizens before they returned to Mexico. To judge from available data, however, this seems to have been a small number in periods for which reports are published. In the period after World War II, statistics on departures of aliens as well as citizens have been reported in terms of "Passengers departed," which measures international passenger traffic of all kinds. These data are, therefore, useless for any attempt to measure outmigration relative to immigration.

Source: Grebler, Leo. *Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and its Implications*, p. 27.

Original Source: Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and its predecessor agencies.

TABLE 3

MEXICAN ALIENS EXPELLED, COMPARED WITH ALL ALIENS EXPELLED
NUMBER OF EXPULSIONS, FIVE-YEAR PERIODS 1910-1964[a]

	Deported[c]		%	Required to Depart[c]		%
Period[b]	Mexican	All Aliens	Mexican	Mexican	All Aliens	Mexican
1910-1914	1,181	16,010	7.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1915-1919	3,534	11,835	29.9	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1920-1924	5,096	21,694	23.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1925-1929	15,434	56,594	27.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1930-1934	35,535	82,943	42.8	39,380	52,237	75.4
1935-1939	23,030	43,820	52.6	24,805	43,885	56.5
1940-1944	17,078	26,456	64.6	40,191	66,246	60.7
1945-1949	70,505	84,719	83.2	785,326	840,796	93.4
1950-1954	63,515	87,149	72.9	3,841,562	3,909,092	98.3
1955-1959	25,113	42,537	59.0	237,093	423,715	56.0
1960-1964	20,490	38,144	53.7	67,170	149,872	44.8

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a/ The reported figures refer to cases rather than persons and include double-counts of individuals expelled more than once.

b/ Fiscal years.

c/ Different procedures apply to these two types of compulsory repatriation. Deportations are based on formal procedures including hearings and appeals. In the case of aliens "required to depart," the Immigration and Naturalization Service presents its evidence of illegal entry to the alien or his representative and gives him the option to depart voluntarily in order to avoid formal deportation proceedings. This is usually applied to first offenders. Aliens who choose this option are not debarred from subsequent legal admission if they qualify. In contrast, aliens who have been deported generally are ineligible for later legal admission. In recent years, the reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service have changed the classification "required to depart" to "aliens departing voluntarily," but under the general heading "aliens expelled." The new label is highly ambiguous since it obscures the difference between aliens who depart entirely on their own volition and those who do so under the threat of deportation. For this reason, the designation "required to depart" has been maintained in the table. The category "required to depart" was first recorded in 1927 for all aliens and in 1930 for Mexican aliens.

Source: Grebler, Leo. Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and its Implications, p. 28.

Original Source: Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and its predecessor agencies.

out-migration, were also at a high level. The magnitude of the exodus is illustrated (though not measured) by the decline in the Mexican-born population in the United States from 639,000 persons in 1930 to little over 377,000 in 1940."[9]

Period From 1940 - Present

Cycles of Immigration

Another cycle of attraction and expulsion of Mexican labor has occurred during the most recent period of our history. Again a world war siphoned off the available domestic manpower at a time when the demand for agricultural products, such as sugar beets, cotton and vegetables, increased sharply. Following Mexico's declaration of war upon the Axis nations in 1942, an agreement was readied between the government of Mexico and the United States governing the importation of contract laborers from Mexico, "Los Braceros."

"Wetback" Housing

This agreement was an attempt to eliminate the conditions under which Mexican "wetbacks" had labored during the pre-Depression era. The housing of illegal immigrant workers, in the past as well as the present, is very poor. "For many of the more transient, including some family groups, there is no housing, and home becomes a blanket thrown beside an irrigation ditch. Others, more stable, live in brush shelters or single-room plank shacks furnished with packing boxes, ash-filled buckets and tubs for stoves, and nails for the hanging of extra belongings. Those who work in towns live typically in small shacks crowded on the backs of lots. Perhaps, as many say, they live better here than they did in Mexico. But even here the dwellings are overcrowded; the sanitary facilities rudimentary or nonexistent...."[10]

The "Braceros"

The new "Bracero" agreement between the governments of Mexico and the United States "stipulated that imported workers were to be assured of free transportation to and from their homes; that they were to be provided subsistence en route; that they were not to be used to displace other workers or to reduce wage rates; and that certain minimum guarantees, governing wages and working conditions, would have to be observed."[11]

"Bracero" Housing

In spite of this agreement, a survey of farm labor housing in the San Joaquin Valley undertaken by inspectors of the State Division of Housing from 1949-1950 revealed that of the 703 labor camps in the Valley, "40 percent were classified in good condition, 37 percent in fair condition, and 23 percent in bad condition."[12]

"As a result of official complacency and employer reluctance, rural California was for many years spotted with rundown bracero camps. In the delta region of the San Joaquin temporary camps were set up among the mosquito-infested sloughs. Barns and stables were converted to human habitation. Former Wetback hideouts were fitted with plank bunks, a faucet and other standard equipment. Empty warehouses and abandoned garages were refurbished for a season. After a tour of the scene, Mr. Robert C. Goodwin, Director of the Bureau of Employment Security, concluded that many camps were not fit for people to live in. Of some 700 camps inspected in San Joaquin County in 1957, over a third were judged to be beyond salvaging. The worst offenders were summarily bulldozed and burned.

"Since ramshackle housing was by far the most visible of the defects of the Mexican labor program, it proved to be the one that employers were most easily persuaded to correct. A period of reform set in around 1956. As labor pools were consolidated, fringe camps were abandoned and new central facilities were built, modernly equipped and even comfortably appointed. These larger camps, such as that of the citrus labor pool near Fullerton, became models of farm labor housing, showpieces of compliance and performance above and beyond the call of decency. Standards rose perceptively and by force of comparison the smaller establishments also improved. By 1960, it was altogether unlikely that a small operator would have found any sympathy among the associations if he were discovered in flagrant violation of federal and state housing rules."[13]

Even though many aspects of the 1943 Bracero agreement were not enforced to the letter, it was a notable advance over the earlier situation and it demonstrated that an imported migration labor force could be planned and provided for. The contributions to the American economy were obvious, while those to the Mexican government were no less important: an outlet for a large unemployed mass of the Mexican population and a great financial contribution to the Mexican economy through the requirement that 10 percent of the earnings of each "Bracero" had to be placed in a compulsory savings fund in Mexico City.

Reinstatement of "Bracero" Program

This international agreement was terminated in 1947; however, after a lapse of three years, it was reinstated from 1951-1964 with slight alterations in the original provisions. "In fact, the program reached its most massive dimensions long after World War II. The number of Mexican contract workers admitted for temporary agricultural employment increased from 4,203 in 1942 to 62,170 in 1944....rose to 197,000 in 1952....and reached a peak of 445,197 in 1956."[14]

As large as these recorded figures are, they do not tell the entire story of the quantity of Mexican workers in the United States during this period. Illegal immigrant workers, "wetbacks," worked side-by-side with their countrymen who had entered legally as contract workers. By disregarding "formalities," the "wetback" could not only save the time and inconvenience expended in the Mexican recruitement centers but also the fees extracted by official and unofficial middlemen.

At the same time, the American farmer could save the $25 bond required for each worker, the $15 contracting fee imposed by the United States government, and various other stipulations of the international agreement. It is obvious that both the American farmer and Mexican laborer had much to gain from the "Wetback Situation" and both did little to discourage its growth.

Operation Wetback

"Operation Wetback" of the 1950's was the "United States government's answer to the human flood which was illegally crossing the international border. It has been estimated by the Immigration and Naturalization Service that for every legally contracted workers, four aliens were deported by the Border Control during 1953. Of the 875,000 persons apprehended during the fiscal year of 1953, 30,000 were found to hold industrial and trade jobs rather than jobs in agriculture and 1,545 were smugglers of alien labor."[15]

Apprehension of Illegal Entrants

The existing program of apprehending illegal migrants was extended from the border to interior points, and a massive roundup and repatriation effort got under way in June, 1954. A "Special Mobile Force Operation" was organized with military precision. It concentrated first on California and then on Texas, but included also such cities as Spokane, Chicago, Kansas City, and St. Louis. The operation was reminiscent of the expulsions of the depression period, but far more people were involved and the program was executed by the duly authorized federal agency under procedures anchored in law. Nevertheless, the firmer legal basis did not preclude infringements of civil rights, as is attested by subsequent court cases. If a person could not immediately furnish documentary evidence of his legal status when federal inspectors confronted him at home or in the street or other public places, he was likely to be apprehended and sent to Mexico. Since the previous system of placing the expelled people merely across the border made re-entry too easy, the authorities organized airlifts and trainlifts to places near their homes in Mexico.

The number of apprehensions rose from 875,000 in the fiscal year 1953 to 1,035,282 the next year. As "Operation Wetback" was phased out, the number fell to 256,290 in 1955 and 90,122 in 1956. In mid-1955 the Immigration and Naturalization Service reported that "for the first time in more than ten years, illegal crossing over the Mexican border was brought under control."[16]

Permanent Immigration

A possible consequence of the success of "Operation Wetback" was the increased volume of Mexican immigration on a permanent basis during the 1950's. The decade saw a total of over 290,000 immigrants from Mexico, with over 65,000 during 1956 alone. The volume of immigration has continued into the present decade. During the first half of the 1960's, over 215,000 Mexicans entered on permanent visas; however, the largest percentage occurred before 1964.

Current Immigration

"On July 1, 1963, a new procedure was announced for persons wishing to immigrate into the United States on the assurance of jobs by American employers. Henceforth, American consular offices in Mexico were to require that the employer's job offer be endorsed by the United States Department of Labor.... Endorsement was made dependent upon a finding that no sufficient supply of domestic workers was available for the job and that employment of the alien would not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of such workers. This new procedure applied only to Mexican immigrants....

"Previously, American consuls in Mexico, as well as elsewhere, had commonly required a job offer from a United States employer as part of the evidence that the visa applicant would not become a public charge.... The consul had no means of determing whether this was a bona fide offer made by a bona fide employer, and whether more than temporary employment was intended. Officials had reason to suspect widespread abuse on all these counts. The new certification procedure provided for review of the legitimacy and duration of the employment offer.... The granting of visas (was thereby made) dependent upon an official evaluation of the labor-market impact of a job offer. Thus, the principle of applying no quantitative restrictions to natives of the Western Hemisphere, and using merely the qualitative criteria applicable to all immigrants, was modified in the case of the Mexicans. Instead of a quota based on national origin, the authorities introduced a quantitative control based on the labor market impact of prospective immigrants, a substantial departure from previous practice....

Southwest Agriculture in the Future

"Historically, agriculture in the Southwest has relied on a succession of foreign workers from different racial and ethnic groups to meet its labor needs. Mexicans were the last major group in this line of succession. If they remain excluded, agriculture, especially in California and Texas, faces a new set of conditions, with consequences on output, prices, union organization, and technological changes, which cannot yet be assessed."17

B. Geographic Origin of Immigrants

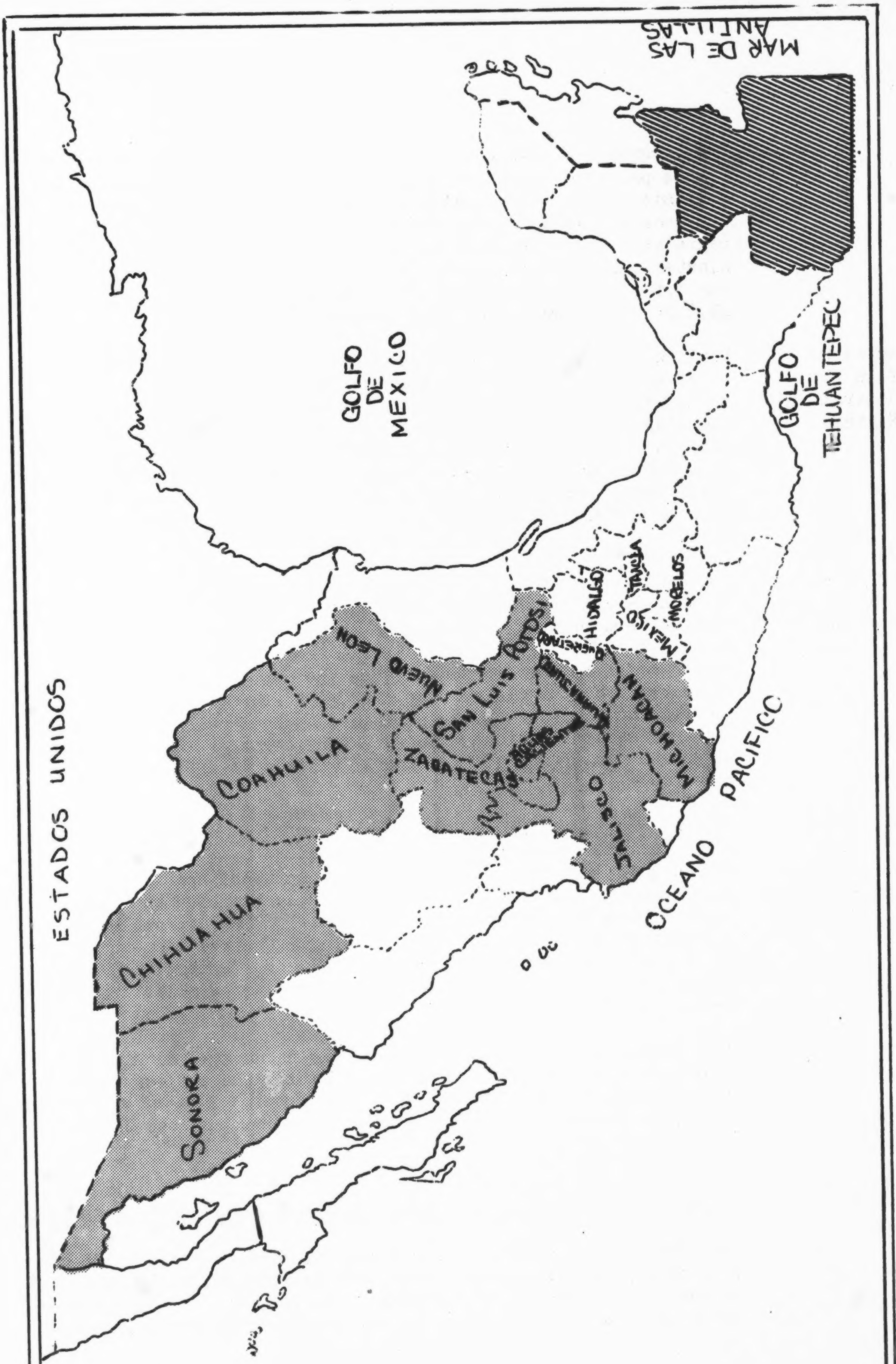
Due to the lack of records, it is impossible to substantiate the original place of residence in Mexico of the many immigrants who have entered the United States since 1848. However, it is possible to infer the place of origin for the majority of these immigrants from the few studies and statistical records which were undertaken during the hundred-odd years. (Refer to map of Mexico on p. 43.)

Two nuclei of Dispersion

Prominent early writers on the Mexican immigrants indicated two nuclei of dispersion from the homeland: One was the central plateau which contains the agricultural heart of the nation; and the second was the region adjacent to the international border. An earlier section of this paper has already described the great rush of Mexican miners from the state of Sonora into the goldfields of California during the middle 1800's.

Central Plateau

Almost half a century later, the turmoil created by the Mexican Revolution encouraged the emigration of great numbers from the central plateau. "On the basis of money orders for remittance, (Gameo) estimated that over half of the immigrants through the late 1920's came from Guanajuato, Michoacan, and Jalisco."18


ESTADOS UNIDOS
GOLFO DE MEXICO
MAR DE LAS ANTILLAS
GOLFO DE TEHUANTEPEC
OCEANO PACIFICO
SONORA
CHIHUAHUA
COAHUILA
NUEVO LEON
SAN LUIS POTOSI
ZACATECAS
JALISCO
MICHOACAN
GUANAJUATO
QUERETARO
HIDALGO
TLAXCALA
MORELOS
MEXICO

The expansion of agriculture in the border states of the United States provided an incentive for immigration which appealed to Mexicans who varied socially and occupationally from the previous two groups. According to the records of "1,078 Mexicans who registered at the Mexican Consulate in Corpus Christi during the nineteen months ending July 31, 1929,...it appears that 75.5 percent of these Mexicans came from the northeast of Mexico, 23.6 percent from the central plateau."[19]

Wetbacks from the Central Plateau

The incursions of "wetback" farm laborers into the United States since World War II has repeated the pattern established earlier. A statistical tabulation of information contained on a random sampling of 500,000 cards of apprehended "wetbacks" which were on file in southern Texas indicated that these immigrants came "mainly from the interior of Mexico; half were from the three states of Nuevo Leon, Guanajuato, and San Luis Potose; 25 percent from Jalisco and Michoacan."[20]

Braceros from the Central Plateau

The establishment of the "Bracero Program" in 1943 facilitated statistical recording of information pertaining to these laborers. It also permitted the differentiation of place of origin between Braceros and Mexicans entering the United States on permanent immigrant visas. In the past it was assumed that the geographic origin of these two groups would be the same; a glance at Table 4 indicates that this is not the case. "However, the absence of correlation may possibly be explained by internal migrations preceding visa applications. So far as braceros are concerned, the paramount importance of the central plateau is confirmed...."[21] (See Table 4, p. 45.)

Origin of Mexican Students in United States

In contrast to the groups already referred to, a study was undertaken in 1957 to determine the geographical origin of Mexican students in American Universities. In spite of the wide difference on the social scale, it appears that these Mexicans came from the same regions as other Mexican immigrants. "The overwhelming majority of our students came from the....Central Plateau or from the northern border tier of states. With one exception, no member of the sample came from further south than a few miles south of Mexico City."[22]

Even though the cases mentioned are few in number and widely spaced in time, their findings do coincide with earlier thinking and re-emphasize the importance of the central plateau and border region as places of origin for future residents of the United States.

C. Areas of United States Receiving Large Numbers of Mexican Immigrants

"The Spanish-speaking reside in a belt of territory about 150 miles in width, paralleling the border, and extending from Los Angeles to the Gulf of Mexico. Starting in California, run a line from Santa Barbara along the base of the Tehachapi Mountains, around

TABLE 4

IMMIGRANT VISA ISSUED TO MEXICANS, BY U.S. CONSULAR DISTRICTS, TOTALS FOR FISCAL YEARS 1955-1964, AND ORIGIN OF BRACEROS, TOTALS FOR 1951-1962

	Immigrant Visa[b]			Origin of Braceros[c]	
Consular Office[a]	Number of Visas	Percent of Total	Rank of Office	Percent of Total	Rank
Ciudad Juarez	75,919	17.7	3	10.7	4
Guadalajara	35,688	8.3	5	23.4	3
Merida	3,595	0.8	7	0.3	7
Mexico City	69,050	16.1	4	37.7	1
Monterrey	118,055	27.5	1	25.4	2
Nogales	24,328	5.7	6	2.0	5
Tijuana	102,878	23.9	2	0.5	6
Total	429,513	100.0	—	100.0	—

[a] Jurisdictions for immigrant visa, with wholly insignificant exceptions, cover the following states: Ciudad Juárez: Chihuahua. Guadalajara: Aguas Calientes, Colima, Jalisco, Nayarit, Zacatecas. Mérida: Campeche, Quintana Roo (territory), Yucatan. Mexico City: Chiapas, Distrito Federal, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Hidalgo, Michoacan, Morelos, Oaxaca, Puebla, Queretaro, Tabasco, Tlaxcala, Veracruz (southeast of Rio Tecolutla). Monterrey: Coahuila, Durango, Nuevo Leon, San Luis Potosi, Tamaulipas, Veracruz (northwest of Rio Tecolutla). Nogales: Sinaloa and Sonora (except for that part which is west of the Puerto Peñasco-Sonoita Highway). Tijuana: Baja California, Sonora (west of the Puerto Peñasco-Sonoita Highway), Sur de Baja California (territory).

[b] Numbers furnished by the U. S. Department of State.

[c] For the purpose of comparison, the state figures given in the source cited below were combined to conform to U. S. consular districts. The fact that the periods covered are not identical for the two sets of data does not invalidate broad comparison since the distributions in most instances do not change radically from one year to the next. See source for underlying numbers of braceros by state origin. Source: Gloria R. Vargas y Campos, El Problema del Bracero Mexicano (published thesis at the School of Economics, University of Mexico, 1964), Tables 7 and 7-a.

Source: Grebler, Leo. Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and its Implications, p. C-2.

the rim of the San Bernardino Range, and then across the desert to the border of Arizona; draw the line through the center of Arizona; embrace all of New Mexico, including the San Luis Valley and portions of southeastern Colorado; then move down the eastern boundary of New Mexico to El Paso. From El Paso, pull the line diagonally to San Antonio and from San Antonio to Corpus Christi on the gulf. Between this line--the northern border of the borderlands--and the present Mexican-American border, reside upwards of eighty-five percent of the Spanish-speaking people in the United States."[23] (Refer to map on p. 47.)

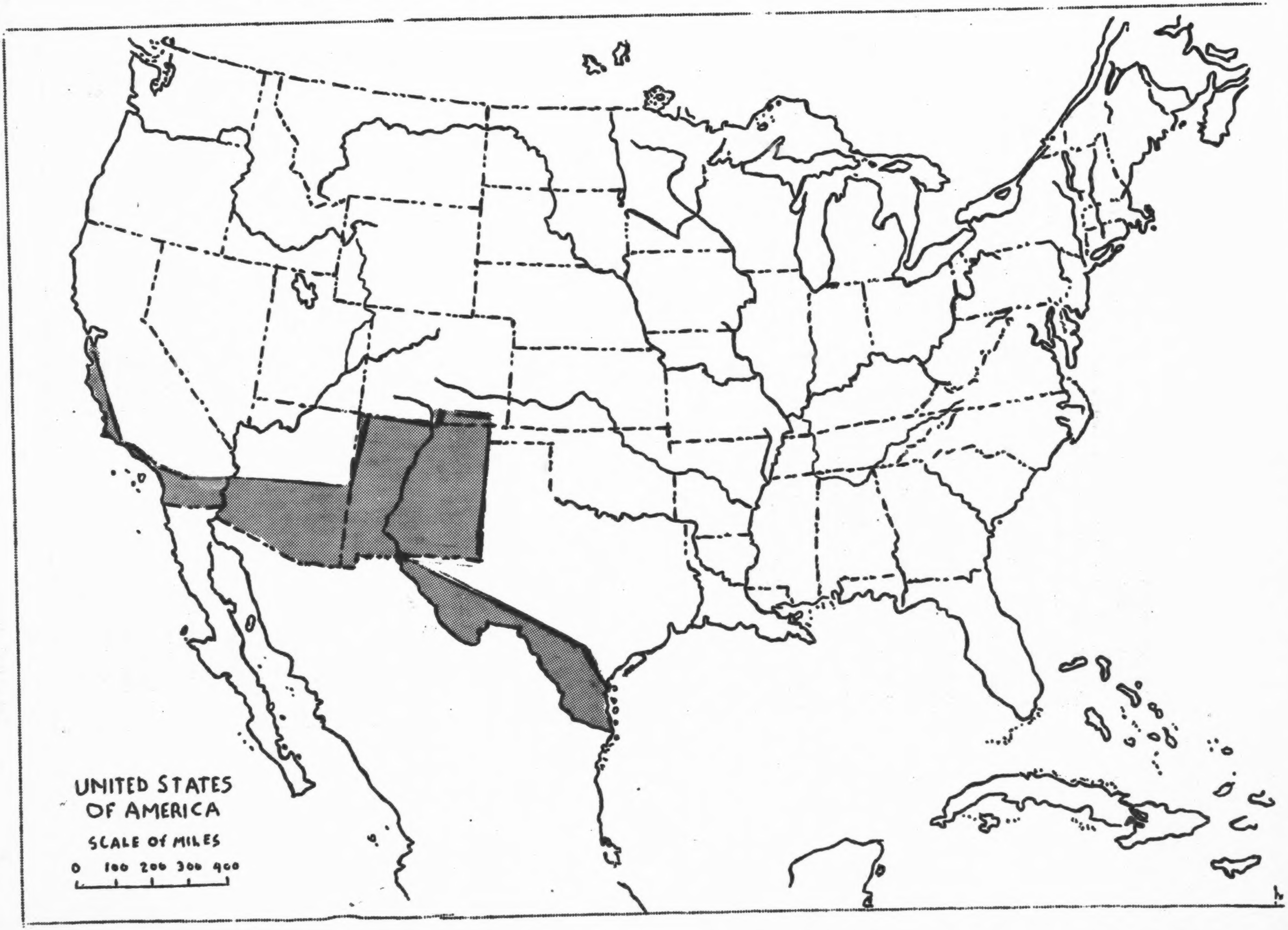
"In each of the twenty-four counties extending from Santa Cruz in Arizona to Willacy in Texas, more than fifty percent of the population is of Mexican origin.... In New Mexico, the Spanish-speaking element is highly concentrated in the Upper Valley of the Rio Grande.... In each of fifteen out of thirty-one counties in the state, the Spanish-speaking comprise fifty percent of the population; and in each of seven counties, they make up eighty percent or more of the population. In Colorado, the native-born Spanish-speaking element is concentrated in the San Luis Valley and the southeastern corner of the state; while the immigrant element is to be found in Denver and the northern sugar-beet counties. In Arizona, the bulk of the Mexicans reside in the southern tier of counties along the border. Today, as yesterday, most of the Spanish-speaking residents of California are to be found in the southern counties."[24]

In attempting to determine the exact number of Mexican-Americans residing in the Southwest, the University of California at Los Angeles undertook a very involved "estimation procedure" which is detailed on p. 53. They arrived at a figure of 3,344,300 Mexican-American residents in the Southwest, and concluded further that the number of "White Persons of Spanish Surname," as defined by the 1960 census, can be used "as a proxy for Mexican-Americans in the Southwest and its major subdivisions, without significant distortion."[25] Therefore, unless otherwise indicated, the following discussion of Mexican-American settlement patterns in the Southwest will be based upon statistics taken from the United States census classification of "White Persons of Spanish Surname."

According to the 1960 census, the exact distribution of the 3.4 million Mexican-Americans in the Southwest is as follows:

State	Spanish-Speaking Population	Total Population
Arizona	194,356	1,302,161
California	1,426,538	15,717,204
Colorado	157,173	1,753,947
New Mexico	269,122	951,023
Texas	1,417,811	9,579,677

Area in which approximately 85 percent of the Spanish-speaking people in the U. S. reside



The importance of these numbers is more apparent when it is realized that 41 percent of the Mexican-Americans in the Southwest reside in California and represent 9.3 percent of the state's population; 40 percent reside in Texas and comprise 14.8 percent of the population; New Mexico claims 8 percent, which accounts for 28.3 percent of that state's population; 6 percent reside in Arizona and make up 14.9 percent of the population; while Colorado has 5 percent, which amounts to 9 percent of Colorado's population.[26]

Contrary to popular belief, the Mexican-American population in the Southwest is highly urban in its residency. "In 1960, 93 percent of the Spanish-speaking people in California lived in urban areas; 61 percent in New Mexico lived in urban areas; 86 percent in Arizona lived in urban areas; 77 percent in Colorado lived in urban areas; and 83 percent in Texas lived in urban areas."[27]

The chart below indicates which of the cities of the Southwest had the largest concentrations of people with Spanish surnames, according to the 1960 census.

TABLE 5

SOUTHWESTERN CITIES HAVING LARGEST SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATIONS

(Census of 1960)

	Total Population	Spanish-Surname Population	Percentage of Total Population
Arizona			
Phoenix	439,170	40,241	9.2
Tucson	212,892	35,722	16.8
California			
Los Angeles	2,479,015	260,389	10.5
East Los Angeles (unincorporated)	104,270	70,802	67.9
San Francisco	740,316	51,602	7.0
San Diego	573,224	38,043	6.6
Colorado			
Denver	493,887	43,147	8.7
New Mexico			
Albuquerque	201,189	43,790	21.8
Texas			
Brownsville	48,040	34,440	73.8
Corpus Christi	167,690	59,859	35.7
El Paso	276,687	125,745	45.4
Houston	938,219	63,372	6.8
Laredo	60,678	49,819	82.1
San Antonio	587,718	243,627	41.4

Source: Manuel, Herschel T. Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest, p.2
Original Source: 1960 census.

The following table illustrates the residence patterns of Mexican-Americans within the metropolitan areas of California:

TABLE 6

WHITE PERSONS OF SPANISH SURNAMES

Metropolitan Area	Number	Percent, Spanish surname of State Total	Percent, Spanish surname of area Total
Total, Calif.	1,426,538	100.0	9.1
Bakersfield	29,219	2.1	10.0
Fresno	61,418	4.3	16.8
Los Angeles-Long Beach	629,292	44.1	9.3
Sacramento	30,078	2.1	6.0
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario	96,401	6.8	11.9
San Diego	64,810	4.5	6.3
San Francisco-Oakland	177,239	12.4	6.4
San Jose	77,755	5.5	12.1
Remainder of State	260,326	18.2	10.2

Source: Californians of Spanish Surname, State of California; Department of Industrial Relations, p. 25.
Original Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

"It is interesting to note that Los Angeles ranks second only to Mexico City in the entire world in population of persons of Mexican descent!"[28]

The counties in California in which Mexican-Americans contribute substantially to the total county population are indicated in Table 7 on p. 50.

Another way of analyzing the settlement patterns of nationality groups within the United States is through a consideration of the state which new immigrants select as their intended place of residence. Chart B on p. 51 illustrates the intended state of residence of Mexican immigrants from 1910 to 1929, and again from 1955 to 1964.

Within the period from 1910 to 1929, the Southwest was the intended region of settlement for over 90 percent of all Mexican immigrants; the figure was only slightly reduced in the 1955 to 1964 period. From 1910 to 1929, Texas was by far the greatest center of attraction in the Southwest. Even though California was gaining in importance, during the "last half of the twenties three Mexican

TABLE 7

WHITE PERSONS OF SPANISH SURNAME AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL COUNTY POPULATION

California, 1960

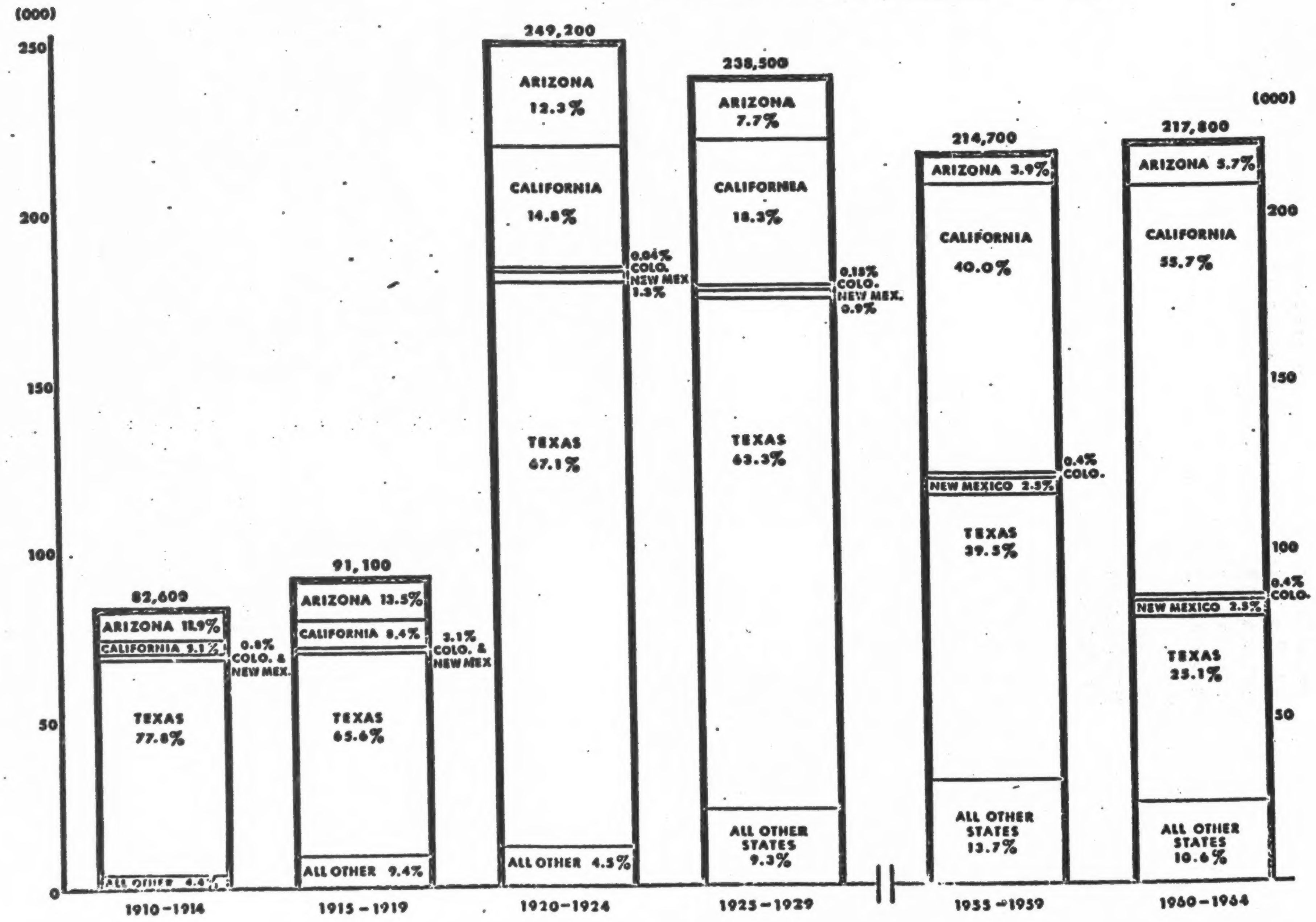
County	Percent	County	Percent
Imperial	33.1	Contra Costa	6.1
San Benito	30.2	Sacramento	6.0
Kings	23.3	Sierro	5.6
Ventura	17.1	Solano	5.6
Fresno	16.8	Tuolumne	5.3
Tulare	16.3	Sutter	5.2
Madera	15.4	Calaveras	4.5
Merced	14.8	San Mateo	4.4
Santa Barbara	13.2	Siskiyou	4.1
San Joaquin	12.2	Napa	4.1
Santa Clara	12.1	Yuba	3.9
San Bernardino	11.9	Marin	3.8
Yolo	11.8	Tehama	3.7
Riverside	11.8	Sonoma	3.5
Monterey	11.7	Inyo	3.5
Kern	10.0	Modoc	3.0
Colusa	9.5	Butte	2.7
Los Angeles	9.5	Plumas	2.6
Stanislaus	7.5	Lake	2.6
Orange	7.5	Nevada	2.4
Alameda	7.5	El Dorado	2.4
Lassen	7.4	Mendocino	2.4
San Luis Obispo	7.1	Mariposa	2.3
San Francisco	7.0	Humboldt	2.2
Santa Cruz	6.9	Shasta	2.0
Glenn	6.5	Mono	1.4
Placer	6.5	Del Norte	1.4
San Diego	6.3	Trinity	0.5
Amador	6.1	Alpine	---

Source: Californias of Spanish Surname, State of California, Department of Industrial Relations, p. 28.

Original Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

CHART B

Intended State of Residence of Mexican Immigrants,
Five-Year Periods, 1910-1929 and 1955-1964



Source: Grebler, Leo. Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and its Implications, p. 52.
Original Source: Annual Reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and its Predecessor Agencies.

immigrants intended to settle in Texas for every one who chose California...."29 However, in the post-World War II era, these relationships have become radically changed: Texas has lost much of its attraction, being now a poor second to the Golden State. Arizona has become wholly insignificant as a state of intended residence; and New Mexico and Colorado, during the periods covered, have never been of any consequence in this respect.

The most recent statistics available from the Immigration and Naturalization Service illustrate the areas of intended residence of Mexican immigrants for the fiscal years 1963 and 1964.

TABLE 8

	1963	1964
California	33,044	17,205
Texas	12,097	8,759
Arizona	3,548	2,141
Illinois	2,625	1,867
New Mexico	1,463	956
Total	55,253	32,967

Source: United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service. *Table 12A; Immigrants Admitted by Specific Countries of Birth and State of Intended Future Permanent Residence: Year Ended June 30, 1963; 1964*.

The choice of city for future permanent residence is represented in the following table:

TABLE 9

MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED
Years Ending June 30

City of Residence	1963 Total	1964 Total
Los Angeles	7,274	4,277
Phoenix	233	159
Tucson	503	383
San Diego	1,457	793
Albuquerque	52	38
El Paso	2,447	1,578
Houston	509	470
San Antonio	882	680
Chicago	2,117	1,451

Source: United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

It is evident that the most recent immigrants have continued the settlement patterns established by their countrymen of earlier periods. "Between 1950 and 1960, the Spanish-speaking population of Texas increased by 37 percent, while that of California grew 88 percent, that of Arizona 51 percent, that of Colorado 33 percent, and that of New Mexico 8 percent.... Plainly, it is California and Texas that have had to deal with the major brunt of the acculturation and discrimination problems in recent years, for together they claim the vast majority of the approximately three and one-half million Spanish-speakers in the Southwest...."[30]

Another interesting aspect of the most recent Mexican immigration is the inclusion of Chicago, Illinois, as a place of interest--further emphasis of the great attraction of urban areas for these people. The problems engendered by this concentration in urban areas will be discussed in a following section.

"Estimation-Procedure" of the University of California at Los Angeles in Determining the Number of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest.

"Two sets of 1960 Census data can be used for estimating the Mexican-American population in the United States. One of these pertains to 'white persons of Spanish surname'....; the other details the number of persons comprising the foreign stock of Spanish surname--(in which is enumerated the number of recent immigrants from Mexico and their descendents who may have been born in the United States). Further, the Census data make it possible to derive the number of persons who are of Mexican stock but have not Spanish surname or are classified as other than white. These are the elements that can be used for estimating the number of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest....

"The Census reports that there were 3,464,999 white persons of Spanish surname (WPSS) in the Southwest. This figure excludes Mexican-Americans without Spanish surname and/or classified as non-white, and it includes Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Spanish-surname people who are not of Mexican descent. The estimation task for the Southwest is to include the former and exclude the latter. In addition, the ratio of foreign-stock population to natives of natives in the Southwest can be applied to an estimate of Mexican-Americans in the balance of the United States....

Estimate for the Southwest

"The estimating procedure is as follows:

(A) Mexican stock without regard to surname or color (Census)	1,511,058
(B) Mexican stock, WPSS (Census)	1,386,298
(C) Mexican stock other than WPSS (A minus B)	124,760

(D) Foreign stock, WPSS (Census)	1,565,597
(E) Percent of WPSS foreign stock that came from Mexico (B/D)	88.548%
(F) Natives of natives, WPSS (Census)	1,899,402
(G) WPSS natives of natives from Mexico (Ratio E applied to F)	1,681,882
(H) Percent of Mexican stock that are WPSS (B as percent of A)	91.144%
(I) Mexican stock without Spanish surname or nonwhite (G/H-G)	151,352
(J) Estimated number of Mexican-Americans (B-C-G-I)	3,344,292

"The resulting number is only 120,707 less than the 3,464,999 white persons of Spanish surname reported by the Census....less than 3.5 percent.... The resulting estimate is useful for a variety of purposes....the result indicates that the number of WPSS can be used in further Census analysis as a proxy for Mexican-Americans in the Southwest and its major subdivisions, without significant distortion. Second, the ratios shown by the Census for the population of foreign stock are of considerable substantive interest. Thus, only little over 11 percent of the persons of foreign stock among the WPSS group were of non-Mexican descent, and only 8.26 percent of the persons of Mexican stock did not have a Spanish surname (or were nonwhite).... Finally, the results show details on the composition of the Mexican-American population...

"Estimates for the National Summary are summarized below:

	Natives of Natives	Mexican Stock	Total Mexican-Americans
Southwest	1,833,200[a]	1,511,100[b]	3,344,300
Balance of U.S.	272,900[c]	224,900[d]	497,800
Total	2,106,100	1,736,000	3,842,100

a: G + I in Estimate for the Southwest
b: A in Estimate for the Southwest
c: E in Estimate for Balance of U.S.
d: D in Estimate for Balance of U.S."[31]

D. Characteristics of Mexican Immigrants in Statistical Form: Age, Sex, and Occupational Distribution

TABLE 10

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS COMPARED WITH ALL IMMIGRANTS, SELECTED PERIODS[a]

Period[b]	Under 14 Mexican	Under 14 All	14 to 44 Mexican	14 to 44 All	45 and over Mexican	45 and over All
1900-1904	12.8	12.4	80.3	82.2	6.9	5.4
1905-1909	22.1	11.9	69.2	83.4	8.7	4.7
1910-1914	24.0	12.7	66.7	81.7	9.3	5.6
1915-1917	30.7	16.0	58.5	73.8	10.7	10.1
1920-1924[c]	20.9	18.6	71.8	72.2	7.3	9.2

	Under 16 Mexican	Under 16 All	16 to 21 Mexican	16 to 21 All	22 to 44 Mexican	22 to 44 All	45 and over Mexican	45 and over All
1925-1929	16.0	16.2	22.2	23.3	54.7	51.4	7.1	9.0

	Under 10 Mexican	Under 10 All	10 to 19 Mexican	10 to 19 All	20 to 29 Mexican	20 to 29 All	30 to 39 Mexican	30 to 39 All	40 to 59 Mexican	40 to 59 All	60 or over Mexican	60 or over All
1950-1954	18.4	15.9	16.8	12.2	30.5	29.1	19.0	19.5	11.7	19.7	1.8	3.6
1955-1959	18.0	16.2	16.2	15.1	32.0	31.8	19.0	18.6	12.9	15.4	1.9	2.8
1960-1964	20.3	16.3	18.4	15.9	30.9	29.1	18.9	19.5	13.2	19.6	2.9	3.5

[a] Age classifications have changed over the years. Only periods with fairly consistent classifications have been selected.
[b] Fiscal years.
[c] The age classification for this period is: under 16, 16 to 44, and 45 and over.

Note: Because of rounding, percentages for "Mexican" and "All" do not necessarily add to 100.

Source: Gebler, Leo. Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and its Implications, p. 45.

Original Source: Annual Reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and its predecessor agencies.

TABLE 11

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS, COMPARED WITH ALL IMMIGRANTS FIVE-YEAR PERIODS, 1900-1929 and 1950-1964

Period[a]	Mexican Immigrants[b] % Male	Mexican Immigrants[b] % Female	All Immigrants % Male	All Immigrants % Female
1900-1904	70	30	70	30
1905-1909	66	34	70	30
1910-1914	63	37	67	33
1915-1919	57	43	59	41
1920-1924	68	32	57	33
1925-1929	70	30	55	45
1950-1954	51	49	46	54
1955-1959	55	45	46	54
1960-1964	54	46	45	55

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[a] Fiscal years
[b] By country of birth

Source: Grebler, Leo. Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and its Implications, p. 46.

Original Source: Annual Reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and its predecessor agencies.

TABLE 12

SEX RATIOS FOR MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS AND ALL IMMIGRANTS, BY AGE GROUPS, 1950-1964 (MALES PER 100 FEMALES)

Age Groups	1950-1954 Mexican	1950-1954 All	1955-1959 Mexican	1955-1959 All	1960-1964 Mexican	1960-1964 All	Total 1950-1964 Mexican	Total 1950-1964 All
Under 10	100.0	103.7	103.6	104.3	101.3	103.0	102.0	103.7
10-19	76.2	80.3	83.9	78.2	96.0	76.0	88.0	77.8
20-29	99.2	66.2	128.0	70.9	134.0	67.2	125.4	68.3
30-39	148.8	107.7	181.3	103.3	162.9	96.1	168.3	102.0
40-49	110.3	105.3	138.7	105.4	139.3	92.4	133.5	101.3
50-59	93.0	90.4	93.6	81.6	83.8	75.4	89.2	82.3
60 or over	75.5	64.5	80.6	61.6	96.8	68.3	88.4	65.0
Total All Ages	102.9	86.8	120.8	85.9	119.5	81.0	117.3	84.4

Source: Grebler, Leo. Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and its Implications, p. 46.

Original Source: Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

TABLE 13

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS COMPARED WITH ALL IMMIGRANTS FIVE-YEAR PERIODS, 1910-1929 and 1950-1964[a]

Occupations	1910-1914	1915-1919	1920-1924	1925-1929	1950-1954	1955-1959	1960-1964
Professional, technical, and kindred							
Mexican	4.8%	8.0%	3.7%	5.9%	5.2%	2.6%	3.0%
Total	3.6	10.7	9.7	14.2	14.9	15.6	19.0
Farmers and farm managers							
Mexican	1.2	3.1	1.3	1.1	6.5	2.1	1.3
Total	1.5	3.7	4.4	5.6	8.6	2.7	1.7
Managers, officials & proprietors							
Mexican	2.5	4.9	2.0	1.6	4.9	2.1	1.4
Total	1.7	3.9	3.0	2.0	5.3	4.0	4.4
Clerical, sales and kindred							
Mexican	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	8.1	6.6	4.9
Total	0.2	0.8	0.4	0.9	14.9	16.8	20.5
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred							
Mexican	5.7	8.1	5.6	6.7	12.7	8.2	7.0
Total	10.8	11.3	14.9	14.5	16.4	16.9	13.7
Operatives and kindred							
Mexican	5.3	4.5	2.6	2.4	10.3	6.0	4.0
Total	6.2	9.7	9.3	6.8	17.0	12.4	10.8
Private household workers							
Mexican	3.4	6.1	2.5	3.8	15.3	16.9	15.1
Total	15.8	15.5	16.9	16.3	7.7	8.1	6.8
Service workers except household							
Mexican	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	3.2	3.2	2.2
Farm laborers and foremen							
Mexican	2.2	1.6	1.2	6.7	3.4	6.3	21.6
Total	32.9	11.1	6.6	11.0	3.5	3.7	5.0
Laborers except farm and mine							
Mexican	74.4	63.1	80.7	71.3	30.4	46.0	39.5
Total	26.9	32.8	34.1	28.1	6.7	13.6	10.9

[a] Includes only those whose occupations were specified. Mexican immigrants in each occupational class as a percent of all Mexican immigrants with reported occupation, and total immigrants in each occupational class as a percent of all immigrants with reported occupation.

Note: For the early periods through 1929, the Annual Reports of the predecessor agency of the Immigration and Naturalization Service use detailed classes of occupations, such as physicians, bakers, printers, machinists, and so forth. To combine these classes into the 12 standard occupational groupings reported in later periods, reference was made to the Standard Occupational Classification of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, and the sub-classes were assigned to the 12 groupings. This estimating procedure involves a margin of error which is probably greatest in the case of "craftsmen, foremen and kindred" and "operatives and kindred workers." For example, mechanics could appear in either of these groups, depending on the type of work performed (on which no information is available). In this and similar instances, the numbers given in the Annual Reports were assigned to the group "craftsmen, forement and kindred." The share of this group may therefore be overstated for the period through 1929.--The period 1930-1949 is omitted since no occupational data are reported for Mexican immigrants.

Source: Brebler, Leo. Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and its Implications, p. 48.

Original Source: Annual Reports of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and its predecessor agencies.

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23. McWilliams, op. cit., p. 48.

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29. Grebler, op. cit., p. 51.

30. Jane Macnab Christian and Chester C. Christian, Jr., Language Loyalty in the United States; the Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups (The Hague: Mouton & Co.), p. 290.

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UNIT IV: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

A. The Family

"In the culture of Mexico, the family is of paramount importance. Social roles are determined by a defined family structure where responsibility and initiative are very definitely a matter of age and status."[1] Important class differences probably exist within the general Mexican type; however, some of the main elements survive even in the urban-Anglo setting where large numbers of Mexican-Americans reside.

"The Mexican-American family is much larger than that of the Anglo-American. The 1960 census reveals that whereas only one family in seventeen in the general population had seven or more members, nearly one in five Mexican-American families had seven or more members."[2] These figures related only to the immediate family and do not take into consideration the extended family, which is an important element in this sub-culture.

Extended Family

The extended family of the typical Mexican-American includes three or four generations of grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins--many of whom may be living within the same household. Although the kinship ties are considered to be "extended" by American standards, these relatives are received as part of the immediate family by the Mexican-American.

From the study undertaken by Sister Mary Immaculate, she concluded that, "a true Mexican would feel most impoverished if the only relatives he had about him were his parents and children. His nieces and nephews are almost the same to him as his own sons and daughters, and his cousins are very little different from his brothers and sisters.... There is even a sharing of children which certainly strikes us as strange. Since it is felt that a family without children is not a family, the unfortunate family without children or with few children will usually take one, two, or three of those belonging to sisters, brothers, or even other people who have too many..."[3]

In addition to the "blood relatives," another group, the compadrazco, is also included within the extended family. The compadrazco is a pseudo-kinship institution which "includes godparents or Padrinos who are chosen for many different occasions such as for the reception of the Sacrament of Baptism, Confirmation, First Communion and Matrimony."[4] As a part of the extended family, the "Padrinos" are ready to lend a helping hand should any misfortune befall the family or one of its members. Commenting on this institution, Ralph Beals states: "Possibly nowhere in the Latin-Catholic world has the godparent relationship been so elaborated as in Mexico. Not only does the child treat his godparents like true parents, but parents and godparents (compadres) treat each other like, and are often closer than, true siblings. The compadrazco is an eleborate system that extends kinship to a large number of unrelated individuals.[5]

Well-Defined Roles

The roles of individual members of the Mexican-American family are distinct and well-defined in contrast with the changing, overlapping tendencies in American families. "Mexican culture is characterized by male dominance. The father wields almost unlimited power within the home. His word is usually law and he is obeyed unquestionably by his wife and children, especially the girls... The Mexican man will rarely assist his wife with household chores and care of the children. This, in his estimation, is the woman's duty and it would be a lowering of his status to perform such tasks. Neither will he permit his sons to engage in such household tasks, and thus, they grow up with the attitude that all work of a domestic nature must be performed only by the mother and daughters...."[6]

Jane and Chester Christian explain the role of the male in the following way: "The male in Hispanic culture is an explorer and conqueror--of ideas, of lands, and of women. He functions as a unit which defies categorization. He is both a Cortes and a Quijote.... He is first of all a man, and only secondarily a storekeeper, a mechanic, or even a lawyer or physician; the role is not promoted at the expense of the man. This leaves him at a distinct disadvantage in economic competition with the Anglo, but he will get his satisfactions from being ruler in his own family, and master of his own personal destiny. Whether this leads to personal grandeur or petty dictatorship, the male in Hispanic society receives personal gratifications rarely available to the male in Anglo society, and stable expectations develop solidarity within the family."[7]

In contrast to the male, the female role in the Mexican-American is characterized by its subordinate position. "The Mexican woman... is expected to be submissive, faithful, devoted and respectful to her husband and to take the major responsibility for rearing the children... She is not expected to find fault with her husband or to be curious or jealous of what he does outside the home nor is she supposed to share in his political, economic or social activities unless they are centered around the home."[8]

The role of the Mexican-American woman is similar to what was idealized as the perfect wife and mother in the Anglo culture at an earlier period in our history--that is, "....she is prepared only for family life. Since she rarely uses effective means of birth control, it is expected that she will bear children regularly, leaving her no time for work outside the home even were it otherwise permissible. She is considered ineligible if she does not marry at least by her early twenties, so has no time to establish a career. She is not expected to "use" the education she receives from the public school, but she is expected to learn to help take care of a family from an early age...."[9]

Ralph Beals states that the Mexican mother assumes a responsible and respected position within the family. She expects her children to remain close to her throughout their lives and frequently continues to control them after marriage. Usually sons bring their wives to live in the family home where they assume a position subordinate to the mother-in-law. With the arrival of grandchildren, the grandmother's knowledge of childrearing is to be respected and never questioned. "Not infrequently sons continue to live at home until middle age or until their children are too numerous to be accommodated in the ancestral home...."[10]

Sister Mary Immaculate explains the differentiated roles of children in the Mexican-American home: The boys are trained for the world, the girls for the home. "Girls are not expected to have as much education as boys and they are supposed to be far less experienced in the ways of the world. In early childhood, Mexican children play together freely and with very little supervision from adults. From about the age of eight, however, sex segragation is quite well-formalized. At the budding of adolescence girls are increasingly more sheltered in their activities while boys are permitted more freedom."[11]

Armando Rodriquez states that the child "is raised to look after his parents and to make sacrifices for them.... Independence of the children is not always considered to be a good thing. The family takes first place, before the individual, and therefore, before the community or organizational responsibilities."[12] "This kind of family organization permits an individual to feel quite secure and sufficient within his family group. There is less need to become involved actively in community and civic affairs as a way of satisfying the need for social participation and personal achievement."[13]

Changes of Traditional Mexican Family

The preceeding discussion of family patterns relates primarily to first generation Mexican-American families and to those residing in isolated pockets throughout the Southwest. The Mexican-American family which lives in a modern Anglo metropolitan area finds it very difficult--if not impossible--to maintain patterns and roles which are suited to another culture and another era. Changes which have occurred in traditional roles vary greatly among Mexican-American families and are to no small extent determined by the degree of influence from the Anglo-American community. Many wives now find it convenient, if not necessary, to seek employment outside the home; children adopt behavioral patterns from their classmates at school; American laws guarantee the equal rights to women--these are only three of many influences which have tended to alter the traditional family patterns. Naturally as these patterns change, members of the family react in sometimes asocial ways to the stresses and uncertainities that they are experiencing. Gang delinquency of the Mexican-American youth is frequently one of the end-products of the destruction of the traditional values of the Mexican family.

As Herschel T. Manuel concludes, the traditional patriarchal family concept of the Mexican is facing many challenges in the new culture in which it finds itself. "The Spanish structure--the authoritarian father, the mother devoted largely to home and church duties, the extended family including different generations and even unrelated persons, the close supervision of the girls and relative freedom of the boys--was developed in a social and economic setting which no longer exists, or at least is rapidly disappearing.

"As this structure changes in adaptation to its new setting, one may well wish that some of the loyalties which it cultivates will be saved to enrich the common culture."[14]

B. Housing

Quality of Housing

"According to the 1960 census, the Spanish-speaking people rent more than the Anglos, they get less for their money, and the houses that they live in are more often than not deteriorating, dilapidated, and overcrowded, without basic sanitary facilities."[15]

Julian Samora continues that the extent of the poor quality of housing in which the Mexican-American resides is evidenced by the fact that in "Arizona, 32.4 percent of the dilapidated homes belong to the Spanish-speaking,... (and in) Colorado, the Spanish speaking live in 24.3 percent of the dilapidated housing..."[16]

Armando Rodriquez states that in Logan Heights, a community of San Diego with pockets of Mexican-Americans, the 1960 census takers found that three-fourths of the residences were built prior to 1939 and 7 out of 10 homes were owned by absentee landlords. "Between 1956 and 1960, there was a decline in the number of dwelling units in the area and an increase in the local population. The increased density of population was accompanied by a deterioration in the quality of the existing housing. Such areas inhabited by Mexican-Americans in other parts of San Diego County are visible evidence of depressing environmental factors and sources of health and behavioral problems."[17]

Overcrowding

Again, Julian Samora finds that "overcrowding for the Spanish-speaking is over two times as great for the total population. Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, in that order, have the greatest overcrowding in housing. The higher rates of crowding are attributable to higher fertility rates, taking in boarders to pay the higher rents, the patterns of owners splitting homes to get more rental units, and the extended family pattern of population."[18]

Concentration in Localized Areas

"Whether in a New Mexican village, a migrant camp, a rural or urban slum area or the Mexican section of a large city, the Spanish-speaking people either voluntarily or involuntarily live among themselves, in some degree of social isolation. They may shop in the Anglo sections of town, they may work with Anglo colleagues; but their friends, the people with whom they interact sociably, the people whom they invite to their homes and the people whom they marry are largely Spanish-speaking. A number of factors account for this phenomenon of ghetto-like living, not the least of which is restrictive covenants in most areas and direct and indirect practices of discrimination."[19]

In a study undertaken by Marden and Meyer, it was concluded that "while there has been a decline in discrimination against mexicanos (sic) in the Southwest, the traditional stereotype which the Anglos have held of the mexicano and the associated patterns of discrimination still show much vitality. Both the decline and persistence of discrimination are illustrated in the field of housing. It is often difficult to determine how far spatial concentration of a minority is due to their own inclination and their relative poverty and how far dominant discrimination is the cause. In a study of Latin-American housing in San Antonio, Dodson found 'no rigid line of segregation, even though the vast majority of the Latin-American population is concentrated in one area.' And still further, 'before the war, there were no Latins in North San Antonio, but now Latins are scattered through the area.' On the other hand, Dodson found that 'real estate agents while denying discrimination admit "too many Mexicans can ruin a neighborhood," and "people can never tell about Mexican neighbors."' The same study finds a tendency for Latin-Americans to withdraw from situations where housing discrimination is sensed."[20]

"The geographical isolation of the Spanish-speaking people within a community must be listed as a major handicap of the Spanish-speaking children of the Southwest," according to Julian Samora. "At first thought this separation may seem unimportant, for a degree of isolation is a common characteristic of all persons who occupy different sections of a community. Obviously, not everyone can live in the same limited area. The separation geographically becomes a source of difficulty, however, when it reinforces other divisive factors such as a difference in language. The isolation of Spanish-speaking children tends to defeat their attempts to learn English; it weakens motivation and decreases opportunity. It tends also to support historic hostilities of the groups, and it lessens the chances of improving understanding through association. It retards the development of a common culture. The track, the street, or the river which lies between the groups is a symbol of a much greater barrier.... Although the group which is less powerful economically suffers most, the loss extends to the community as a whole."[21]

C. Education

Educational Level

Throughout the five Southwestern states, the education level of the Mexican-American population is extremely low. According to the 1960 Census, "the median number of school years completed by the Spanish-speaking in Texas was 4.7....this compares with 7.0 years in Arizona, 7.7 in New Mexico, 8.1 in Colorado and 8.6 in California."[22]

Table 14

MEDIANS FOR YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, SPANISH SURNAME, ALL WHITE, NON-WHITE, FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES 1950 and 1960

	SPANISH SURNAME		ANGLO		NON-WHITE	
	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960
Arizona	6.1	7.0	10.6	11.7	5.5	7.0
California	7.6	8.6	11.8	12.1	8.9	10.5
Colorado	6.4	8.1	10.9	12.1	9.8	11.2
New Mexico	7.4	7.7	9.5	11.5	5.8	7.1
Texas	3.6	4.7	9.7	10.8	7.0	8.1

In spite of the fact that the educational level is gradually increasing for this group--approximately one grade during the past ten years--it is also increasing for the general population and therefore the gap remains the same.

Illiteracy

According to Dr. E. Farley Hunter and Duke Saunders, "reference to Table 15 shows....that much of the Mexican-American population is functionally illiterate. In the Los Angeles-Long Beach area, 19.4 percent had fours years or less of schooling--nearly one-fifth of the total Mexican-American population...."[23] This illiteracy was further confirmed by the results "of an informal survey of an area of East Los Angeles in 1963....conducted by Dr. David Martin of the University of Southern California.... (It was) found that one-fourth of the persons interviewed had no formal education, had never attended school. As large as the illiteracy rate appears to be in California, it is unfortunate that it is greater yet in both Texas and Arizona: in Lubbock County, Texas, 68 percent of the Mexican-Americans have less than a fourth grade education, while 43 percent of those in Phoenix have completed less than four grades in school."[24]

Julian Samora believes that "the educational problem of the Spanish-speaking is a complicated one for which no easy or ready-made solution is available."[25]

Handicaps of Spanish-Speaking Children

"Many children in the Spanish-speaking group have no greater difficulties than do English-speaking children.... In large proportion, however, Spanish-speaking children are seriously handicapped by difficulties not shared equally by English-speaking children. The first source of difficulty is one that really

TABLE 15

EDUCATION: 4 YEARS OR LESS COMPARED TO 4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETED, ACCORDING TO SPANISH SURNAME, ANGLO AND NON-WHITE BY SMSA'S IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES*

AREA	SPANISH SURNAME		ANGLO		NON-WHITE	
	4 Years or Less	4 Years H.S.	4 Years or Less	4 Years H.S.	4 Years or Less	4 Years H.S.
ARIZONA						
Phoenix	42.7	12.5	3.7	52.8	21.2	22.3
Tucson	29.4	18.3	2.4	59.3	30.2	18.6
CALIFORNIA						
Bakersfield	35.9	17.3	5.5	45.9	23.1	20.6
Fresno	42.1	12.6	6.9	46.2	19.1	29.6
Los Angeles and Long Beach	19.4	26.2	2.9	56.9	8.6	43.8
Sacramento	20.6	31.8	3.1	58.3	14.1	43.6
San Bernardino	29.0	17.8	3.4	52.9	12.8	31.7
San Diego	20.2	27.3	2.1	57.0	8.4	39.5
San Francisco	15.7	34.3	3.7	57.7	14.1	37.6
San Jose	25.4	22.2	3.8	60.2	11.7	51.2
Santa Barbara	30.0	20.1	2.6	61.3	16.1	34.5
Stockton	35.8	16.7	7.9	41.1	28.4	23.4
COLORADO						
Colorado Springs	11.9	36.7	1.6	62.2	4.7	52.8
Denver	17.4	24.8	2.4	59.5	7.0	45.4
Pueblo	22.8	15.1	6.7	56.8	14.7	29.6
NEW MEXICO						
Albuquerque	18.8	25.6	2.2	66.7	13.8	42.7
TEXAS						
Abilene	56.3	12.3	5.6	50.4	21.2	24.1
Austin	53.6	12.1	7.0	56.2	18.0	24.1
Beaumont	23.8	33.5	6.8	47.9	32.7	18.4
Corpus Christi	53.3	11.2	5.0	54.9	24.4	18.7
Dallas	40.0	18.8	4.5	53.1	18.8	23.7
El Paso	37.1	16.9	2.9	65.2	7.4	48.0
Fort Worth	28.4	25.5	4.5	49.0	17.7	22.6
Galveston	34.6	16.7	6.4	44.7	21.8	22.2
Houston	38.2	16.9	4.5	51.8	18.2	25.3
Laredo	47.0	15.7	7.5	59.9	-	-
Lubbock	67.8	4.9	3.8	53.3	18.8	18.9
Odessa	53.2	9.9	3.3	48.5	15.7	18.2
San Angelo	58.4	4.8	5.5	46.4	23.1	22.9
San Antonio	44.3	13.2	5.4	53.3	14.9	31.3
Waco	46.6	13.3	7.2	42.7	21.2	21.4

*For the population 25 years old and over, from the 20 percent sample.

Source: Samora, Julian, The General Status of the Spanish-Speaking People in the United States. August, 1963.

affects us all--the division of the community into contrasting groups, English-speaking and Spanish-speaking, each with a lack of understanding of the other and with a degree of hostility toward the other....

"Differences in culture are a second source of difficulty in the education of Spanish-speaking children. These differences demand a corresponding adjustment of learning opportunities.... It is often difficult for a Spanish-speaking child to become a full member of the community as a whole. Indeed many a youth is caught between his parental group and the rest of the community and is in part rejected by both.

"A third difficulty is language, a cultural difference but listed separately because of its importance. Typically, the Spanish-speaking child has to learn English as a second language and then to use this second language in his school work while his out-of-school language is mainly Spanish. The result, for a large number of children, is lack of sufficient mastery of any language....

"As if these three difficulties were not enough, a large proportion of the Spanish-speaking children of the Southwest suffer the privations of low family income, often, indeed, of long-continued poverty. These privations have a direct bearing on the amount of education which the child is likely to receive and the kind of opportunity which the school finds it necessary to provide."[26]

Dr. Samora re-emphasizes these points in his paper presented at the Mexican-American Workshop on January 18, 1963, in which he identifies two facets of the educational problem:

"1) the default of the school system, and therefore the community, in not providing equality of opportunity in education for ethnic groupings, and

"2) the lack of motivation for continuing education on the part of the Spanish-speaking.

Default of the School System

"The American school system, whether public or parochial, functions best when conforming middle-class administrators and teachers professing middle-class values address themselves to middle-class students who possess the same value orientation or are in the process of acquiring it. The lower-class and the minority students who do not fit in the mold are less likely to be educated and more likely to become 'drop-out' statistics.... Few school systems can, or do, gear their curricula to the needs of this segment of the population. Few know, empirically, what the needs are. It is easier and safer to prohibit the speaking of Spanish on the school ground and in the school...than to take the imaginative step of teaching both English and Spanish to both Anglos and Spanish-speaking beginning in the elementary school....

"There appears to be a consensus of opinion among most observers,

Lack of Motivation

professional and non-professional, that the Spanish-speaking lack sufficient motivation to stay in school. It is further observed that the most important contributing factors are: the different cultural setting including the value-orientations, lack of supportative behavior from family and peer groups, lack of understanding of the role that the school can play in economic and social mobility, and then the more common-place stereotypical reasons: they are lazy, shiftless, they don't care to get ahead and they lack (inherent) ability. Many cases can be pointed out to support the above contentions...."[27]

"Drop-outs"

In spite of the conflicting theories of why the Mexican-American is such a persistent "drop-out," the fact remains that in California alone, "...the productivity of 350,000 Mexican-Americans is being wasted--this is the number of those who...didn't finish high school."[28] "This almost unbelievable figure is confirmed by the 1960 census report which found that of the 1.4 million persons of Spanish surname in California, 29.4 percent have completed only eight grades of school."[29]

Let us look again at the situation faced by the Mexican-American child as he enters school.

Delayed Enrollment

Before this child can enter school he must be enrolled--this in itself is frequently delayed because the family is fearful of the child leaving home, with the result that he may begin school at an older age than his classmates. Shoes and clothing must be provided by his family, or, when this is impossible, by community agencies. If he appears to have an infectious disease, many times he is recommended by the school nurse for medical treatment in a community clinic.

"Different" Clothing

However, the giving of such assistance is often a "delicate and difficult matter"--the end result must be "constructive rather than damaging to the personality of the person who is being helped...." Manuel Herschel adds that in "giving help the school is dealing not simply with hungry and ill-clothed children but also with personalities who are influenced by the manner as well as the substance of what is done. Giving clothing of style and quality different from that worn by other children may protect a child from cold, but it invites a feeling of inferiority and a withdrawal from normal social contacts. Continued giving without permitting the child to do something in return invites continued dependency. Giving help of any kind in a way that brings the child to the attention of his fellows as an inferior person undermines his position and challenges his self-respect."[30]

"In so basic a matter as food and clothing...the inferiority of the child is forced upon him as he is brought into contact with more favored children. Some of the children are very brave and try to keep a protective bold front.... Some retire and avoid contacts because they are unable to compete. Over and over illustrations can be found of high-school students who avoid occasions where their shabby dress would place them at a disadvantage.... These are not occasional hard-luck stories. They are real-life illustrations of an influence pushing many children toward feelings of inferiority and toward isolation."[31]

Try to imagine the confusion of a small Mexican-American youngster who leaves the security of his home one morning and literally enters another world. A world of blackboards, seats, pencils, group routines, and often sanitary facilities which are completely foreign to him. "At best it is a confusing, fearful, insecure situation, and it can be even worse.... Suddenly he is alone in this strange situation controlled by an adult with whom many times he cannot communicate."[32]

Language Problem

The language problem which is faced by the Mexican-American child is given wide "lip service" but seldom is real understanding or a constructive program inaugurated to remedy the situation. The extent of the language problem is as large as the inherent possibilities: the child may be completely bi-lingual (fluent in both English and Spanish) or completely uni-lingual (fluent in either English or Spanish). Unfortunately, the latter is usually the case, and the language in which the child has attained fluency is not that used by the school.

The immediate task, therefore, is to learn the "language of the school" and at the same time attempt to keep up with the subject matter taught in the classroom. Quite a formidable task! Few teachers would even consider expecting American children to learn arithmetic or social studies if their teacher spoke only German or Swedish or maybe even Spanish--a worthy comparison to ponder.

A vivid illustration of what one Mexican-American child experienced during her first years in an American elementary school appears below:

> "I think one of the major problems...is not knowing any English when we begin school, or else knowing very little. The (English) we do know is poor English. Once we have started school and begin speaking English, it is very hard to get rid of our Spanish accent. It is especially hard on us in grade school. For example, we get in front of the classroom to read, or give a report; then we make a mistake in our English and all the boys and girls laugh. Later on, as we continue school, we hate to speak in a classroom where everyone seems to know good English. We are very self-conscious...."[33]

Contrast of Cultures

Jane and Chester Christian believe that, "one of the predominant characteristics of the Spanish speakers in the Southwest is that their largely non-literate culture reaches them in Spanish, but literate elaborations of culture--particularly high culture--come to them almost entirely through English. This creates a dual environment. One culture provides basic personal and social satisfactions not duplicated in the English-speaking environment. The other culture represents intellectual attainment as well as socio-economic progress which is not available in the Spanish-speaking environment. Spanish represents a world of virtually effortless pleasures and gratifications--a world which may be symbolized by the radio, which permeates the atmosphere and is available at a moment's notice. English represents the dull and demanding world of work--a world which may be symbolized by the clock, which impersonally and relentlessly assigns the task to be done. It is not surprising that under these circumstances the Spanish-speaking person prefers to live in the first world and contribute as little energy as possible to the second. When he has discharged his obligations to the second, he does not want to put forth more time and effort of the same type into the first. He does not want to read a novel in Spanish, for example, because that is the sort of thing he has been taught to do in the Anglo school.... He prefers to relax in the security of his native world--the world of the language he first learned."[34]

"If the very great majority of the Spanish speaking enroll their youngsters in the elementary schools; if these children in great continue through the eighth grade; and then if the tremendous drop-out occurs at the end of junior high school or the beginning of senior high school--is the lack of motivation to be sought as having its genesis within the group or outside of the group? (The writer submits the opinion that this lack of motivation originates in the school and community where the child, in the process of gaining an education, internalized attitudes of inferiority, futility and frustration.) If he looks about him and wonders about his occupational, educational and status opportunities; about his role models; his socio-economic status and the opportunities open to him, he is likely not to be inspired to great effort. If, too, neither his family, peer groups, school nor community come forth with continuing efforts of encouragement and support, dropping out of school and getting a job is probably the best answer to his situation.

"If there is much motivation in the early elementary grades (as suggested by high enrollments), what happens to it in the eighth, ninth and tenth grades? This is a question that is open to research rather than assertions and opinions."[35]

Children of Migrant Farm Laborers

Perhaps the most unfortunate of all the Mexican-Americans are the children of migrant farm laborers. In addition to the cultural handicaps already mentioned, the Report of Two Conferences on Planning Education for Agricultural Migrants published by the United States Office of Education in 1957 identified eight barriers to school accomplishment for these children: "(1) Frequent moves from one community to another make school attendance difficult; (2) parents of migrant children often do not recognize the importance of schooling; (3) school organization is not flexible enough to accommodate large increases of non-resident children; (4) school curriculum experiences are not adapted to the needs of migrant children; (5) community indifference or rejection of migrant families; (6) inadequate school facilities and lack of funds; (7) inadequate advance information by school administrators about number of children and time of arrival; and (8) meager records of the previous school experience of the children."36

According to Manuel Herschel, another problem concerns the prevalence of child labor--"...if they are old enough to work, they are likely to be employed to supplement the family income. Children who are not working sometimes stay out of school to look after other children or simply stay in the labor camp in idleness.... It is easy to remain isolated in the working group.... Probably the most difficult problems in the education of migrant children is that of providing a school program which is adapted to their needs. Even if it could be assured that migrant children would be in school somewhere during the entire school year, the lack of continuity in their learning could be almost disastrous."37

"What's wrong with the Mexican-American child? Professor George Sanchez of the University of Texas once told the public of Alameda County in Northern California that the Mexican-American child was not a problem because he came to school speaking Spanish; the problem was that no one in the school could understand him.

Mexican Heritage

"In the past, the Mexican-American child has been made to feel ashamed of his Spanish language, Spanish surname, Mexican heritage, and Mexican parents. Mr. Arthur Tindell, Superintendent of Schools of the Whisman School District in Santa Clara County once confided in me that Mexican-American children were being punished and made to stay after school because they were overheard speaking Spanish on the playground.

"No, the problem is not Juanito's knowledge of Spanish. Knowledge of any language is not a problem. His fluency in Spanish is a definite asset which the Federal and State governments are spending millions of dollars to develop through the National Defense Education Act. What the non-Mexican-American does not understand is that our children return home belligerent, seeking a quarrel with their parents; confused, frustrated, and disappointed. The child develops an inferiority complex which he readily expresses in the neighborhood gang of other rejected children like himself. This undermining of parental authority, disaccrediting of his home culture, and disassociating the child from his identification with society are largely to blame for the high incidence of Mexican-American juvenile delinquency and dropouts in the schools.

Youth Opportunities Foundation

"The Mexican-American community is trying to arrest this problem. For example, the Youth Opportunities Foundation has initiated a scholarship drive to send deserving Mexican-American boys and girls to college and university. The Foundation is also experimenting through its Fine Arts Committee the bringing of Mexican-American artists and entertainers to the schools for performances and appearances.... This is an effective way to keep boys and girls in school, and remind them that if others can make it, they can too....

Intelligence Testing

"Another area where Juanito has been penalized is the matter of IQ tests written in English. Sometimes this child does poorly on such a test because he cannot understand the question. His poor score places him in a low percentile of the class or school, and he is promptly placed in a group of slow learners. However, this child is not a slow learner, at least, not until he is forced to keep pace with the retarded pupils in his class.

Five Problem Areas

"....There seem to be five areas where Juanito's problems seem most acute: (1) counselling the Mexican-American child; (2) reading and language arts among bi-linguals and bi-culturals; (3)citizenship and social adjustment from Spanish-speaking homes to English-speaking schools and society; (4) fine arts and manual arts programs; (5) competitive athletics.

Counselling

"Counselling the Mexican-American child is a key problem today. It originates at the institution of teacher preparation where the counselor receives his training. At present, no curriculum which the counsellor is required to take combined Spanish instruction with sociology of the Spanish-speaking community. As a matter of fact, future teachers, counsellors and administrators are not required to study a curriculum which prepares them for service among Mexican-American children.

Reading and Language Arts

"Second, reading and language arts among bi-linguals and bi-cultural has not received the attention it merits. The bi-lingual child is often at a disadvantage because no approach respects the fact that he speaks Spanish. There has been little effort using the Spanish language to teach English. Also, domestic conditions often short circuit the child's concentration, motivation or emotional stability. Poverty, disease, alcoholism,...father abandonment are some of the reasons why Juanito does not read well. His inability to read frustrates his ambition and morale, so he compensates with anti-social behaviour that will win attention. In other instances, there is a conflict of loyalties which he imagines between his Spanish-speaking home and English-speaking school. Both represent two poles of authority in his life; both seem contradictory to his understanding of himself and society. This child is often hypersensitive to the emotional conflicts of adjustment in which he sees himself as someone "different" than the vast majority of English-speaking playmates and friends. At this age, no one wants to be different, and nothing strikes terror in his heart faster than the image of himself as someone who does not belong to his own society because of some disqualifying feature. Patience and sympathetic understanding will go a long way to help Juanito read, particularly concerning the other problems which this little child struggles to overcome.

Adjustment to American Culture

"Third, the question of citizenship and social adjustment from Spanish-speaking homes to English-speaking schools and society seems like the subject of language has never entered the picture. We can award eight merit or proficiency badges to our Boy and Girl Scouts of America for their knowledge of Spanish language and culture, but we still do not understand that Juanito's problem is his divided loyalty between his heritage and his citizenship.... His Mexican heritage is not inconsistent with the American way of life....contributions by....diverse racial, and ethnic groups, have made Americans stronger, more beautiful, and wealthier. We cannot expect the Mexican-American child to grow up to be a good American if we make him ashamed of his parents or his Spanish language. We must inculcate in our children a respect for their heritage and the responsibilities of American citizenship. The two are fundamentally American in their moral, legal and historical origin.

"Perhaps one way to improve the citizenship status of the Mexican-American child is to improve our textbook selection and publication. The Spanish and Mexican-American period of California History and Southwest History do not always portray a fair and impartial story of the Spanish conquest and discovery and the later colonization period.... The case of Juan de Onate is a case in point. Juan de Onate, founder of Santa Fe, New Mexico, founded the State of the forty-seventh star in the flag several years before the pilgrims founded Plymouth, Massachusetts. The governor's mansion, plaza square, and cathedral are still standing today in the heart of Santa Fe. But not enough is said about him or his colony who suffered hostile Indian attacks, famine and disease.

"For some reason or another we never talk about the printing press in Mexico City, the first in the Western Hemisphere; the many fine libraries--some in California. We never talk about Sor Juana Inez de la Cruz, the tenth Muse, a child prodigy, poetess, mathematician, physicist; at the age of ten, she had devoured a library, and at thirteen engaged the doctors of the University in an open polemic in higher mathematics. She proved the Copernican theory and observed scientifically Haley's comet from the steps of the cathedral of Mexico at a time when people were committing suicide by jumping off of bridges because they thought the apocalypse had arrived. Sor Juana has the unique distinction of being the first American feminist in the Western Hemisphere.

"The names of Bartolome de las Casas, defender of the Indians, is seldom heard. A man who single-handed wrote letters to the King of Spain, appealed before the court, preached a gospel of love and kindness for the Indians, founded missions and convents, translated Indian languages into Spanish, and represented throughout his life a moral voice which reminded his compatriots of their Christian obligations and duties. The marvellous chronicle of Cabeza de Vaca and his adventures throughout the Southwest; Coronado's letter to King Charles the V describing the Grand Canyon; the life of his son Diego, as Governor of the Island of Hispaniola. And we could go on and on. Somehow, the reader gets the impression of two extremes concerning the Spanish and Mexican histories of the United States. One is a sentimental and romantic picture, completely out-of-focus with history, with a false idealization of early California life. Ramona and her marriage, the son "la Golondrina," and the facade of one of the missions is a perfect stereotype. California is depicted as a wilderness on a frontier far from culture. However, in every mission the padres had libraries; the rancheros had good libraries which they brought from Spain; there were people of refinement, education, and wealth....

Fine Arts and Manual Arts Programs

"Fourth, fine arts and manual arts programs are of vital concern to the Mexican-American community because many Mexican-American children demonstrate great talent which prepares them for jobs after graduation.... Special schools should prepare those children with exceptional talent for vocations and professions. We should restore the lost dignity of the man who works with his hands, and pass on to our children this respect for work and manual labor. There is a great need for skilled labor such as plumbers, electricians, carpenters, painters, brick layers, barbers, x-ray technicians, auto mechanics, etc. Children who are poor performers in academic subjects should not be stigmatized, but assisted to find their place in society. Too much pressure on college education for everyone overlooks the minority child who would do better to go to a trade school in order to learn how to make a living. This bread winner and good citizen should be just as much an integral part of our thinking as the child who is college material and college oriented.

Athletics

"Fifth, both the Negroes and Mexican-Americans of California have similar experience in the area of competitive athletics. Both have found this area open to them. Both have achieved recognition in school, in the community, and in the national press for their abilities. There is hardly a school, conference or league where youngsters of these two backgrounds do not excel. Furthermore, the ruggedness and competitiveness of athletics has provided these youngsters with a constructive outlet for their emotions. In the case of minority children, competitiveness is not always a psychological part of their attitude. This is particularly true of the Mexican-American whose hispanic psychology of everyday life does not equip him for the competitive world of the Anglo-Saxon.... This lack of competitiveness has created a complacency and passiveness often mistaken as laziness....

"Thus, competitive athletics should be appreciated for its psychological values as well as its physical training merits. However, the doors of coaching jobs and athletic directorships are still closed to these youngsters throughout the State...."[38]

Theodore Anderson says, "coming a little closer to home, we must confess to...(another educational) sin: our failure to encourage our Spanish-speaking children to speak Spanish, as we commonly do in school and on the playground, and our failure to respect the great Hispanic culture of which our Spanish speakers are modest representatives. This is part of an unthinking, inconsiderate, and self-defeating national policy to destroy non-English languages and cultures in the United States--whether French, German, and Spanish or Eskimo, Navaho, and Hawaiian. While paying generous lip service to respect for individual differences, we have to the present made little effort even to understand the special needs of our non-English-speaking citizens. In this connection let me call to your attention an unpublished paper by my colleague, Dr. Mildred Boyer, on the subject of 'Individual Differences and the War on Poverty,' which is calculated to deepen our understanding of this problem. We show our disregard for other languages by not learning them. We tend to equate Hispanic culture, for example, with the under-developed, disadvantaged standard of living of Spanish speakers among us without taking thought as to what is responsible for this depressed living standard. It is the culmination of irony that where Spanish-speaking children are at an age that would make it easy and relatively inexpensive to help them to maintain and improve their language, we do all we can to destroy it. And when we do find that we need adult citizens in great numbers who can understand and speak Spanish or other languages, we must through legislation repair at great cost the damage we have thoughtlessly done."39

A Nation of "Foreign" Languages

"Dr. Joshua A. Fishman has estimated in his recently concluded report on 'Language Loyalty in the United States' that there were in 1960 some nineteen million native speakers of European languages other than English in the United States, or eleven percent of our entire population. The figure would be considerably increased if it included speakers of all other languages. We have at a guess, speakers of more than fifty different languages, not only the well-known European languages such as Italian, spoken, according to the conservative 1960 census figures, by more than three and a half million; Spanish, spoken by nearly three and a half million; German, spoken by over three million; Polish, spoken by over two million; and French, spoken by over one million, but also such languages as Eskimo, in Alaska; Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, Vasayan, Tagolog, and Portuguese in Hawaii, and more than a dozen American Indian and Asian languages in addition to all the European languages, spoken in the continental United States. It is a matter of national as well as professional interest for us to preserve these languages and to provide their speakers with an education which takes them properly into account. In this vital and complex undertaking, modern language teachers have a central role to play; but they need the help of colleagues in the social sciences--linguists, psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists--and in professional education and politics. For, as Joshua Fishman has written, 'the preservation and revitalization of America's non-English language resources (even for the purpose of cultural bilingualism) requires, first and foremost, several planned modifications in the goals and processes of American society.' (Vol. III, last chapter, p. 12)."40

D. **Employment**

The occupational status of the great majority of Mexican-Americans throughout all the five southwestern states is very low. They are employed, in large measure, in jobs of an unskilled or semi-skilled nature. The exact distribution among the various classes of employment is portrayed in Table 16 from the 1960 census, on p. 78.

Median Family Income

According to Julian Samora, "the median family income for the total white population of the five southwestern states is from $1,000 to $2,000 higher per year than the income of Spanish surname families. Significantly, more of these families have incomes under $1,000. The percent earning $10,000 or more is from two to six times greater among the total white population than among those with Spanish surnames.

"The lack of opportunity to obtain apprenticeship training, which is very important, actually is quite evident in most states as are discrimination and unemployment. There is still discrimination in employment."[41]

An excellent survey of the present and future employment conditions in the state of California and the place of the Mexican-American in this labor market is presented in a paper entitled, Employment Problems of the Mexican-American, by Marion J. Woods, State Supervisor of the Minority Employment Program. Although the material contained relates specifically to California, it can be used as an example of the conditions prevalent in the other four states.

The Population of the Mexican-American in the State

"One of the primary considerations in discussing employment problems encountered by any group should be the availability of that group to areas in which industry is located or where employment is available. Dr. Julian Samora, Associate Professor of Sociology at Notre Dame University, in his study of The General Status of Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwestern United States points out that the Mexican-American population in the Southwestern states has been highly mobile. He states that 86 percent of this population was urban in 1960 compared with 60 percent in 1950. Apparently the Mexican-Americans are moving from rural areas into cities at a faster rate than the total population. However, the 1960 Census shows that many Mexican-Americans still live in the rural areas of California. About 15 percent of Mexican-Americans aged 14 years and older live in rural areas. Almost 16 percent of all Mexican-American males are employed in the agricultural industry as farm laborers. In fact almost 42 percent of other white American males are employed as farm laborers (see Table 18, p. 80.). The point may very well be raised that this phenomenon is not surprising since everyone knows that the Mexican-American has traditionally been thought of as a good agricultural worker and has not had a problem of acceptance in this industry. However, the concentration of Mexican-Americans in agriculture is significant from an economic point of view,

TABLE 16

Occupational Grouping of Male Persons of Ages Fourteen and Over in the Southwest among General Population and among White Persons of Spanish Surname (Census of 1960)

TOTAL NUMBER EMPLOYED

	Arizona	California	Colorado	New Mexico	Texas
General Population	297,132	3,858,815	310,411	201,914	2,267,099
Spanish-Surname, White	44,828	336,609	29,238	48,454	277,639

PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN OCCUPATIONAL SUBGROUPS

	Arizona		California		Colorado		New Mexico		Texas	
Occupational Groups	General	Spanish-Surname White	General	Spanish-Surname White	General	Spanish-Surname White	General	Spanish-Surname White	General	Spanish-Surname White
a	10.7	2.6	13.5	4.5	14.3	4.2	13.3	6.0	9.6	3.1
b	2.2	.7	2.0	1.9	.5	2.8	4.9	3.5	6.1	2.6
c	12.4	3.8	11.9	4.2	14.1	3.2	12.5	5.2	12.0	4.6
d	5.2	2.7	7.0	4.7	8.0	4.2	5.7	6.3	6.2	4.5
e	7.2	2.7	7.7	3.2	8.5	2.7	5.5	3.7	6.8	3.7
f	20.2	13.5	20.2	16.3	19.8	12.7	19.9	16.6	18.7	15.9
g	16.1	22.0	16.5	24.0	15.9	26.1	17.4	20.0	18.0	21.8
h	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.2
i	5.2	6.0	6.4	6.4	7.1	8.5	6.1	11.0	5.8	7.4
j	7.4	28.0	3.3	15.7	.9	11.0	4.1	9.0	4.4	16.2
k	7.6	13.7	6.2	12.8	6.8	20.3	7.3	15.0	7.7	15.8
l	5.1	4.2	5.2	6.2	4.1	4.2	3.2	3.6	4.7	4.3
MEDIAN 1959 INCOME OF OCCUPATIONAL SUBGROUPS										
	$4,069	$2,713	$4,966	$3,849	$4,191	$2,814	$3,941	$2,630	$3,394	$2,029

a) Professional, technical, and kindred workers (engineers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, etc.)
b) Farmers and farm managers (owners, tenants, etc.)
c) Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm (public officials, buyers, etc.)
d) Clerical and kindred workers (secretaries, stenographers, bookkeepers, etc.)
e) Sales workers (brokers, salesmen, newsboys, etc.)
f) Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers (carpenters, mechanics, bakers, etc.)
g) Operatives and kindred workers (bus drivers, dressmakers, railroad brakemen, etc.)
h) Private household workers (housekeepers, laundresses, babysitters, etc.)
i) Service workers, except private households (police, firemen, barbers, etc.)
j) Farm laborers and foremen (unpaid family and self-employed farm service laborers)
k) Laborers except farm and mine (teamsters, garage laborers, fishermen, etc.)
l) Occupation not reported

Source: Manuel, Herschel T. Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare, p. 47.

TABLE 17

OCCUPATION, SEX AND RACE OF THE EMPLOYED[1]
State of California, April 1960

	Total	White[2]	Negro	Spanish Surname	Other
Male 14 Years and Over	3,858,815	3,243,928	173,311	336,609	104,967
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	522,473	486,520	7,629	15,164	13,160
Farmers and Farm Managers	77,813	60,087	844	6,303	10,579
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors, Except Farm	458,081	431,735	3,973	14,053	8,320
Clerical and Kindred Workers	270,845	234,463	13,500	15,842	7,040
Sales Workers	296,018	276,573	3,096	10,835	5,514
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	780,461	693,060	23,090	54,765	9,546
Operative and Kindred Workers	634,824	504,019	38,038	80,728	12,039
Private Household Workers	5,739	3,240	1,026	314	1,159
Farm Laborers and Foremen	125,872	58,446	3,347	52,728	11,351
Laborers, Except Farm and Mine	238,544	158,750	30,907	43,178	5,709
Occupations Not Reported	199,486	152,236	19,502	21,020	6,728
Female 14 Years and Over	1,902,618	1,617,386	115,694	123,103	46,435
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	265,445	245,505	8,762	6,343	4,835
Farmers and Farm Managers	5,327	4,227	33	183	884
Managers, Officials and Proprietors, Except Farm	92,742	86,906	1,517	2,880	1,439
Clerical and Kindred Workers	666,432	605,704	16,370	29,848	14,510
Sales Workers	152,835	140,978	2,014	7,405	2,432
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	23,109	19,715	1,146	1,873	375
Operatives and Kindred Workers	221,029	155,702	16,865	39,831	8,631
Private Household Workers	115,965	74,136	31,503	6,423	3,903
Service Workers, Except Private Household	228,665	186,426	23,938	14,299	4,002
Farm Laborers and Foremen	13,185	6,793	440	3,775	2,177
Laborers, Except Farm and Mine	7,982	4,933	1,247	1,500	302
Operations Not Reported	109,902	86,361	11,859	8,743	2,939

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[1] Includes self-employed managers and self-employed farmers.

[2] Excluding Spanish Surnames

Source: Woods, Marion J. Employment Problems of the Mexican-American.

Originia Sources: (1) U.S. Census of Population 1960, PC (1) 6D, California Tables 121, 122 and 125.
(2) U.S. Census of Population 1960, Economic Characteristics of White Persons of Spanish Surnames, for Five Southwestern States, Table 6.

TABLE 18

PERCENT OF TOTAL BY OCCUPATION, RACE AND SEX OF THE EMPLOYED[1]
State of California, April 1960

	Total	White[2]	Negro	Spanish Surname	Other
Males 14 Years and Over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	13.5	15.0	4.4	4.5	12.5
Farmers and Farm Managers	2.0	1.9	0.5	1.9	10.1
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors, Except Farm	11.9	13.3	2.3	4.2	7.9
Clerical and Kindred Workers	7.0	7.2	7.8	4.7	6.7
Sales Workers	7.7	8.5	1.8	3.2	5.3
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	20.2	21.4	13.3	16.3	9.1
Operative and Kindred Workers	16.5	15.5	21.9	24.0	11.5
Private Household Workers	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.1	1.1
Service Workers, Except Private Household	6.4	5.7	16.4	6.4	13.2
Farm Laborers and Foremen	3.3	1.8	1.9	15.7	10.8
Laborers, Except Farm and Mine	6.2	4.9	17.8	12.8	5.4
Occupations Not Reported	5.2	4.7	11.3	6.2	6.4
Female 14 Years and Over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	14.0	15.2	7.6	5.1	10.4
Farmers and Farm Managers	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	1.9
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors, Except Farm	4.8	5.4	1.3	2.3	3.1
Clerical and Kindred Workers	35.0	37.4	14.1	24.2	31.2
Sales Workers	8.0	8.7	1.7	6.0	5.3
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.5	0.8
Operatives and Kindred Workers	11.6	9.6	14.6	32.4	18.6
Private Household Workers	6.1	4.6	27.2	5.2	8.4
Service Workers, Except Private Household	12.0	11.5	20.7	11.6	8.6
Farm Laborers and Foremen	0.7	0.4	0.4	3.1	4.7
Laborers, Except Farm and Mine	0.4	0.3	1.1	1.2	0.7
Occupations Not Reported	5.8	5.3	10.3	7.1	6.3

[1] Includes self-employed managers and self-employed farmers.

[2] Excluding Spanish Surnames

Source: Woods, Marion J. Employment Problems of the Mexican-American.

Original Sources: (1) U.S. Census of Population 1960, PC (1), 6D, California Tables 121, 122, and 125.
(2) U.S. Census of Population 1960, Economic Characteristics of White Persons of Spanish Surnames, for Five Southwestern States, Table 6.

Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding because it means that a discussion of employment problems of this group cannot be separated from the employment problems in agriculture.

The Position of the Mexican-American in the California Labor Force

Agriculture

"Let us then first examine the changes that are now taking place in the agricultural industry and see if we can infer from them how they relate to the problems of the Mexican-American.

"Agriculture is now and will continue to be a basic industry of this state. Changes are taking place now that will affect the industry as an employer of labor and will have a profound effect upon the economy of the state. The most far-reaching is the change in the type of crop raised. As urban encroachments continue in the pleasant areas surrounding our cities, deciduous fruit trees are planted in new regions to replace the trees supplanted by houses. There are now several projects underway that will bring water to hitherto unirrigated land, and it is a matter of common sense to put valuable lands into crops that promise a greater return in dollars per acre.

"While our agriculture is expanding, it is not creating the kinds of job opportunities we need for our growing population. In fact there is probably no industry in the world that is improving its productivity as rapidly as agriculture in California. California farmers have been facing up to the fact for some time that large numbers of foreign contract workers will not be available at harvest time in the future. Whether this prospect becomes a reality next year or year after next does not alter the manner in which the challenge is being met. Machines are being developed to do the work heretofore performed by human muscle. As the trend to mechanization continues, the need for unskilled labor declines.

"The implication of these changes then is significant to the subject being discussed today. With Mexican-American males constituting 42 percent of all males employed as farm laborers, the problems of Mexican-Americans are directly associated with the future of this industry. While there is, and will be for some time, heavy seasonal demands for agricultural workers, this does not provide the type year-round employment with a reasonable income level that the Mexican-American needs and wants.

"Of the 68,683 Americans of Mexican ancestry (as shown in Table 19, p.82.) working in the agricultural industry in April 1960, 52,728 or 77 percent were farm laborers or foremen. This means that the large concentration of Mexican-Americans in the agricultural industry is largely as an unskilled laborer and not as a manager or self-employed farmer. In other words, the Mexican-American in agriculture is concentrated in those occupations most rapidly being eliminated through mechanization....

TABLE 19

INDUSTRY, SEX AND RACE OF THE EMPLOYED[1]
State of California, April 1960

	Total	White[2]	Negro	Spanish Surname	Other
TOTAL	5,761,433	4,861,314	289,005	459,712	151,402
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	267,816	165,935	5,809	68,683	27,389
Mining	25,973	24,677	86	1,088	122
Construction	361,691	309,891	17,780	31,077	2,943
Manufacturing	1,391,110	1,180,470	50,435	135,885	24,320
Durable Goods	915,201	793,505	30,546	78,173	12,977
Nondurable Goods	471,131	382,559	19,634	57,712	11,226
Not Specified Manufacturing	4,778	4,406	255	—	117
Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities	393,804	339,813	19,494	28,857	5,640
Wholesale and Retail Trade	1,081,730	942,338	32,020	73,001	34,371
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	291,349	268,265	5,483	12,061	5,540
Services	1,324,969	1,127,541	98,352	65,833	33,243
Business and Repair	198,244	172,863	10,049	11,886	3,446
Personal	326,474	238,241	50,830	24,016	13,387
Entertainment	81,864	72,668	2,864	4,945	1,387
Professional and Related	718,387	643,769	34,609	24,986	15,023
Public Administration	354,008	296,958	31,064	16,914	9,072
Industry Not Reported	268,983	205,426	28,482	26,313	8,762

[1] Includes self-employed managers and self-employed farmers.
[2] Excluding Spanish Surnames

Source: Woods, Marion J. Employment Problems of the Mexican-American.

Original Sources: (1) U.S. Census of Population 1960, PC (1), 6D, California, Table 129.
(2) U.S. Census of Population 1960, Economic Characteristics of White Persons of Spanish Surnames, for Five Southwestern States, Table 6.

Other Industries

"It may be observed from (Table 19, p.82) that the largest concentration of this group is found in manufacturing where nearly a third of all employed Mexican-Americans are working. A large number of those workers are in the food processing industry, which, because of increased mechanization, has tremendously increased its output with a slight decrease in unskilled and semiskilled labor, and will reduce its present labor need unless the markets continue to expand at the phenomenal rates of the past decade.

"Before we discuss the occupational distribution of this group, which is important, let us briefly bring to your attention some of the other facts shown in (Table 20, p.84). In the service industry, Mexican-Americans are particularly under-represented in professional and related services, which includes doctors, lawyers, teachers, and so on. In business and repair services and in entertainment services, their representation is very low. They also suffer from a low representation in public administration and in finance, insurance, and real estate.

"Among the Mexican-American males, only 4.2 percent are employed as managers, officials, proprietors, compared with 13.3 percent of other white males. Only 4.5 percent are employed as professional or technical workers compared with 15 percent of the white males. Almost 33 percent of employed Mexican women are working in the operatives and kindred workers category. The proportion of other white women employed in this category is 9.6 percent. It should be pointed out here that many of the operatives and kindred workers are employed in the food processing industry. Among the males this percentage is 24 percent for the Mexican-American and about 16 percent for other white Americans.

"An examination of the clerical and kindred workers show that the Mexican-American women comprise 24 percent of all Mexican women employed as opposed to 37 percent of other white women employed. Similar findings were noted in the sales occupations. It is easy to see from these data that Mexican-American participation in the skilled and professional occupations is lagging considerably as are the so-called public contact jobs in the semi-skilled category. We have attached a chart to this report which portrays the occupational positions of the Mexican-American, white, and Negro male (Table 20, p.84).

"The history of Mexican-Americans with respect to the skilled craft occupations cannot be reconstructed statistically and the present position of Mexican craftsmen is unknown. It is therefore impossible to state with certainty that Mexican-Americans are not being fully utilized by California industry in the skilled crafts. However, the 1960 Census strongly suggests such a conclusion. Analysis of these data shows that:

a. Mexican-American males constitute 8.7 percent of the total

TABLE 20

PERCENT OF TOTAL BY INDUSTRY, RACE AND SEX OF THE EMPLOYED[1/]
State of California, April 1960

	Total	White[2/]	Negro	Spanish Surname	Other
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agricultural, Forestry and Fishing	4.6	3.4	2.0	15.0	18.1
Mining	0.5	0.5	(a)	(a)	(a)
Construction	6.3	6.4	6.2	6.8	1.9
Manufacturing	24.1	24.3	17.4	30.0	16.1
Durable Goods	15.8	16.4	10.6	17.0	2.6
Nondurable Goods	8.2	7.9	6.9	10.6	7.4
Not Specified Manufacturing	0.1	0.1	0.1	—	0.1
Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities	6.8	7.0	6.7	6.3	3.7
Wholesale and Retail Trade	18.8	19.4	11.1	15.9	22.7
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	5.1	5.5	0.2	2.6	3.7
Services	23.0	23.2	34.0	14.3	22.0
Business and Repair	3.4	3.6	3.5	2.6	2.3
Personal	5.7	4.9	17.6	5.2	8.8
Entertainment	1.4	1.5	(a)	(a)	0.9
Professional and Related	12.5	13.2	12.0	5.4	9.9
Public Administration	6.1	6.1	10.7	3.7	6.0
Industry Not Reported	4.7	4.2	9.9	5.7	5.8

1/ Includes self-employed managers and self-employed farmers
2/ Excluding Spanish Surnames
(a) Less than 0.5 percentage points

Source: Woods, Marion J. Employment Problems of the Mexican-American.

Original Sources: (1) U.S. Census of Population 1960, PC (1), 6D, California, Table 129.
(2) U.S. Census of Population 1960, Economic Characteristics of White Persons of Spanish Surnames for Five Southwestern States, Table 6.

Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

employed males in 1960, but only 7 percent of the craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers, whereas the white male made up 84 percent of males but 89 percent of the craftsmen jobs.

b. To achieve a representation in the crafts and related occupations similar to that enjoyed by white males in 1960, Mexican-American males would have had to increase their representation by almost 25 percent.

"Summarizing the industrial and occupational distribution together, it is clear that many of the occupations in which Mexican-Americans are employed are occupations which have relatively low status and offer smaller wages. These are the occupations mostly affected by automation and technological change and some of them are simply disappearing.

"Unskilled jobs, whether on the farm or in the cities, and many of the semi-skilled manufacturing occupations are occupations with an unusually high hazard of unemployment. Most of these occupations can be entered without experience and with less than a full education. Many do not offer the prospect of a good livelihood for a lifetime of employment. Furthermore, these occupations are subject to fluctuations in demand so that they often do not offer a prospect of steady employment. Some of them are seasonal, as in the canneries, construction, and farm labor. Some of them are intermittent. Some of them are very easily and profitably eliminated by automation and technological change or, if the demand for the product is increasing rapidly enough, are kept from expanding (as has been the case with cannery employment in this state). Others of these jobs involve personal services which can easily be replaced by laundromats, self-service dry cleaning establishments, and comparable arrangements by which the consumer of the service or product no longer needs the workers on whom he formerly depended.

Barriers that Prevent the Mexican-American from Fully Participating in the Mainstream of the California Economy

"Our analysis shows that the automation is not the only menace for the Mexican-American worker. Another problem he often faces is his cultural, language, and educational handicaps. As Attorney Carlos F. Borja, Jr., President of the Council of Mexican-American Affairs, in his speech before the Regional Conference on Equal Employment Opportunities in Los Angeles on November 14, 1963, said, 'In many cases the worst economic disadvantage that a Mexican-American faces today is not prejudice based on his racial background but it is his lack of preparation.' Dionicio Morales in his presentation The Need for a Social Agency to Serve the Mexican-American Community in his discussion of the problems of the new immigrant points out that 'employment usually becomes an immediate problem primarily due to the language barrier.'

"The Mexican-American's lack of preparation can, in large part, be traced to a bilingual and bicultural environment which has interfered with the Mexican-American attempts to adjust in American society. In addition, many who have migrated to California from Mexico and other states have been illiterate or, at best, poorly educated. For this group, and frequently for their children also, the lack of an education poses an additional handicap.

"In recent years the Mexican government has made attempts to overcome the basic illiteracy of the people in Mexico, but this has required a tremendous all-out program of education. In this state, the absence of a compensatory educational program contributes to the cultural deprivation of the Mexican-American of this state. Until the problem of language and education are solved the position of the Mexican-American in the California labor force should not be expected to improve greatly.

Consequences of Being Excluded from Meaningful Participation in the California Labor Force

"The lack of Mexican-Americans in skilled occupations and management positions present serious consequences for both the Mexican-American and the state.

"For the Mexican-American, the absence in significant numbers from professional and skilled occupations directly affects the amount of income held by the group. According to census data:

a. The median income of persons with skilled crafts was 20 percent greater than that of semi-skilled workers and about 58 percent greater than that of unskilled workers.

b. The substantial under-representation of Mexican-Americans in the industries and occupations associated with skilled, professional, or sales occupations, has served to depress the earning power of this group.

c. The median income of the Mexican-American male in 1959 was $3,849 compared with $5,495 for all males in the state.

"The economic deprivation of this group is reflected in part by census data which show that only 20 percent of the Mexican-American males with income in 1959 had incomes over $6,000 compared with 42 percent of all males. This is the level of income usually commanded by skilled craftsmen. These data also show that 39 percent of all Mexican-American males earned less than $3,000 compared with only 20 percent of all men in the State. The absence of this group from skilled occupations and professional jobs is an imposing barrier to the improvement of their economic position.

The Unemployment Experience of the Mexican-American

"It is also known nationally that skilled workers tend to have steadier employment when compared to workers with less skills.... The low proportion of Mexican-American workers in skilled, professional and sales occupations results in more frequent and longer duration of unemployment. The 1960 Census shows that the rate of unemployment among Mexican-Americans was 8.6 percent while the rate for the State was 6.1 percent.

"In the months of August through November 1963, Mexican-Americans filed about 12 percent of all new claims for unemployment insurance, although they appear to constitute only about 8.3 percent of the labor force subject to the Unemployment Insurance Code.

"A closer examination of these figures throws considerable light on the situation. Of the newly unemployed claimants who were Mexican-Americans, about 75 percent were in unskilled and semiskilled occupations. These facts suggest that the higher overall unemployment rates of this group reflected the job hazard of the occupations into which it has been concentrated as well as the self-evident fact that it still suffers discrimination.

"The problems that the Mexican-American faces calls for attacks on several fronts simultaneously: more rapid economic growth to provide jobs, further work to eliminate discrimination, and action that will help them acquire the skills they need to get out of the occupations with a high hazard of unemployment. We hasten to point out, however, a rapid rate of economic growth will not in itself provide a solution to the problem of many Mexican-Americans because they are in occupations with an unusual high hazard of unemployment. It should also be pointed out that the opportunities afforded by greater economic growth cannot be opportunities to most of those in the unskilled occupations unless they do develop new skills. This can be approached through the expansion of occupational training and retaining programs...."[42]

E. Selected Opinions Concerning Justice, Political Participation, and Leadership in the Mexican-American Community

Equality of Justice

According to Dr. Julian Samora, "People of low socio-economic status without purse, power and pull are very disadvantaged before the law. There is much evidence to suggest that the Spanish-speaking people suffer from police brutality, differential arrests and conviction patterns, and exclusion from jury duty. The matter of equal justice before the law is quite variable from state to state and from county to county, as you would expect, but this is still a serious problem in most states and in many cities...."[43]

Historical Foundations

The inequality of justice which appears to exist today is better understood with a brief review of the historical foundations for this condition. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 did more than just establish peace between the United States and Mexico, it also guaranteed the property and civil rights of the former Mexicans who became citizens of the United States. As was mentioned in an earlier section, the fairly rapid imposition of property taxes by the California legislature and unfamiliarity with "Anglo" laws were among the factors which caused the Mexican ranchos to pass quite rapidly from the hands of the original owners to those of Anglo-Americans.

Shortly thereafter, the 1850 Foreign Miners Tax was instituted and directed primarily toward the "Sonoran miners" who had staked claims in the northern and central Sierras. "...Anglo miners assisted in the enforcement of the law by helping to round up Mexican miners."[44]

It must be remembered that even though many of these miners were Mexican citizens, some were United States citizens who did not possess formal naturalization papers to prove their citizenship. Some of these men retreated to the "Southern California counties.... Others remained behind to retaliate in the role of outlaws.... In time, law enforcement agencies, assisted by citizen vigilante groups, cleaned out the Mexican bandits.... The last reported lynching of a Mexican took palce in Santa Ana, in 1892."[45]

The well-established pattern of fear and violence in frontier life continued throughout the early part of this century--at times quietly smoldering, at times ignited. Accompanying the Depression in the 1930's the "wholesale repatriation of Mexicans" took place which has been described previously. According to Carey McWilliams, few formalities were utilized in checking the citizenship status of Mexicans who were "aided" in leaving the United States by the train-loads and truck-loads. "Figures gathered by the Office of Social Statistics in Mexico City places the total number of repatriates from all states in the union at 311,716 for the period between 1932 and 1935."[46]

The "Pachuco Episode" of the World War II period did much to enliven prejudices against the Mexican-American community and to negate the unifying atmosphere created by the admirable combat records of Mexican-Americans in uniform. It is easy to understand why, throughout the Southwest, Mexicans view governmental agencies with reserve: They have learned to fear immigration agents who could round them up and repatriate them to Mexico, "social workers who could deny food and clothing, school authorities who could administer corporal punishment, and other agencies with the power to impose legal sanctions."[47]

Police-Community Relations

Ralph Guzman states that, "Nowhere else is the heritage of conflict between Mexican and Anglo more evident than in the area of police-community relations."[48] "The Spanish-speaking compose 9 percent of the total population of California, but 16.7 percent of the male prisoners newly received from the court in 1960 were from this group. Thirty percent of those arrested for violating narcotics laws in California were Mexican-Americans. They also composed a large percent of the juvenile delinquency admissions to detention facilities in Los Angeles County. Whites of Mexican descent have the lowest percentage of releases, dismissals, and acquittals, and the highest percentage of convictions in California."[49]

Decline in Discrimination

In spite of the preceeding statistics, George I. Sanchez of the University of Texas feels that there have been "spectacular developments in the decline of discrimination....in the area of civil liberties." He states that, "even ten years ago, gross violations were common--in school segregation, in denial of service by businesses catering to the public, in segregation or denial of service in public parks and swimming pools, in police brutality, in exclusion from jury service, and in many related areas where discriminatory treatment takes more subtle forms and is just as real but more difficult to pin-point. And such violations of social justice were not restricted to any one state--for, in one form or another, they were to be found in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas.

"Of what is probably the greatest significance, overt segregation of 'Mexican' children in the public schools has been eliminated to all intents and purposes. The federal court cases in California, Arizona, and Texas--both those that came to trial and those which did not--have made it abundantly clear that American children of Mexican descent cannot be segregated in the public schools....

Pete Hernandez Case

"In the area of civil liberties, the Pete Hernandez Case (Supreme Court of the United States, No. 406, October Term, 1953) has not drawn the attention it deserves, for it is significant not only for Spanish-Mexicans in the United States but for all groups that are treated as a class apart. This case, about a 'Mexican' who was tried and sentenced by a jury in a county where 'Mexicans' had never served on juries, was carried on up to the Supreme Court of the United States by lawyers of Mexican descent.... The unanimous judgment of the Court, written by the Chief Justice, finding for the plaintiff, included the following:

> Throughout our history differences in race and color have defined easily identifiable groups which have at times required the aid of the courts in securing equal treatment under the laws.... When the existence of a distinct class is demonstrated, and it is further shown that the laws, as written or as applied, single out that class for different treatment not based on some reasonable classification, the guarantees of the Constitution have been violated....

"This far-reaching decision,....laid down a principle on which the Americans of Mexican descent (as well as others) can rely for protection against discrimination and the mistreatment of their class in every area of official public endeavor...."50

Carlos F. Borja believes that the Mexican-American community itself is much to blame for the unfortunate social and economic position in which it finds itself today.

In a speech presented on May 2, 1963, he stated, "...I am sorry to have to tell all of you here today that as Mexican-Americans we have only the rights under the law that others have given to us and not the rights which we should and must have. The reason for this is that we have not fulfilled our responsibilities as American citizens and as voters. The 1960 United States Census enumerated the total population of California to be 15,717,204 of which 1,426,534 were of Spanish surname or almost 10% of the population. It is estimated that the total population of Spanish-surname people in Los Angeles County alone is nearing or has already surpassed the 700,000 mark. But it is also estimated that the total number of registered voters in California of Spanish surnames is approximately only one-half million of which less than 200,000 actually vote. On paper we are the largest minority group in the state. On paper our political potential appears fierce.

But unlike the second largest minority in California--the Negro--we have no real political cohesion.... As John Anson Ford, Chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Commission, has told us many times, 'Unity, my friends, what you need most is unity.' On issues concerning all of the more than 1.5 million Spanish surname population in the State, our political force invariable crumbles like a 'pinata' struck with the stick of feuding factions."[51]

California

"Mexican-American leaders have been stating throughout the State that there is a need for the community to share positions of authority, responsibility, and leadership, and not relegate them to people of only one race,...or social class. The reasons behind such a demand are obvious. The Mexican-American community contends that there are many well-qualified professional men and women whose appointment or election to office would do much to raise the image of the Mexican-American in society and raise the standards of democratic representation. However, appointments of well-qualified people to positions of authority and importance from the Mexican-American communtiy are few and far between. In many areas,.... they are non-existent, and have been this way throughout the history of the State; in other areas, they are negligible in number and even less impressive in their importance and function....

"....everyone will tell you there is no discrimination against Mexican-Americans in positions of authority, responsibility, or greater renumeration. People are selected, they say, on the basis of qualifications. Competition is great, and the best people are selected for the job, regardless of other arbitrary distinctions. Now, concerning the Mexican-American community, what does this mean? Does it mean there are no qualified Mexican-American applicants for these positions? Does it mean that they cannot compete successfully with their competitors? Does it mean they do not apply for positions? We know the answers. There are many competent and well-qualified Mexican-American professionals. We know they can compete successfully because in other states comparable with California they have already done so. Nevertheless, the results are the same. Mexican-Americans have a most difficult time acquiring a position for which they have good qualifications, if they succeed at all. Most of the time they are simply not considered for the job, seriously."[52]

Texas

In contrast, Dr. Sanchez relates how the Mexican-American has begun to participate more actively recently in political affairs in the state of Texas: "...in the face of great odds--the poll tax, poverty, prejudice, ignorance, and the like--the Latin American (so-called) has taken very large political strides indeed. Whereas a few years ago only the border counties elected Latin-American officials, and then nearly always on a token basis and for minor local positions only, today Latin Americans are found in all sorts of elective positions throughout south central and south Texas--as school board members, as county commissioners, as city councilmen, as mayors, in the state legislature, and so on. A most encouraging feature in this development is the increasing independence of the mexicano vote. Where a few years ago that vote was listless and frequently controlled by bosses and machines, it has demonstrated in recent years a vigor and an independence which already make it a power to be reckoned with in elections...."[53]

New Mexico and Southern Colorado

Participation of the Mexican-American in community and political affairs in the state of New Mexico and also southern Colorado differs considerable from that in the other southwestern states. The geographical isolation of this area from the mainstream of Anglo life is largely responsible for this fact. The Spanish early explored and settled this region and at the same time, established "a firm, effective and stable way of life in the desert. Sparsely endowed with either water or minerals, this area could support only a small amount of ranching and farming, so for many years the original Spanish-speaking population could compete in numbers with the few in-coming Anglos.... The upper-class Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico continued to take part in the management of the territory. The struggle for supremacy between them and the Anglos resulted in a sort of statemate, but, with all, a more equitable distribution of power, wealth and status than developed anywhere else in the Southwest."[54]

Throughout the Southwest, according to Dr. Samora "effective leadership among the Spanish-speaking has yet to develop. Nor has this population produced an effective national organization. Although this phenomenon is most disappointing to many people, it is also quite understandable. First, this is not a homogeneous population.... Secondly, an effective leader in this society must have informed, literate followers. We have already indicated to you the educational, housing and employment status of this population, and you can see it leaves much to be desired. Thirdly, the status of the would-be leader is generally so insecure that he cannot generally be very effective in initiating and promoting programs. He has to work to eat, he has to hold his job. He can't really be out in the forefront.

"Fourthly, the person who is the best qualified to lead is one who has been socially mobile and who understands the Anglo system, if he is going to lead in an Anglo system. It is paradoxical that, in the process of becoming educated and raising his occupational and social status, he very often becomes alienated from the group that he would lead. Thus, the followers can correctly mutter that their leaders are 'Aringados' and all that goes with it, and you know what goes with it.

"Fifthly, the American social system very effectively siphons off those who are best qualified to be leaders. In a word, the would-be leaders tend to 'pass'....into the society at large."[55]

F. The Mexican-American Organizations in San Diego and California

The following organizations are active in promoting the acculturation of the Mexican-American and are a source for further amplification of the problems of the Mexican-American. These organizations can be contacted by calling Mr. Larry Montoya, Director, Information and Development Center, 908 A Street, National City, phone 474-2232.

G.I. Forum
Veterans of Foreign Ways, Don Diego Post
IMPACT (Involvement of the Mexican Population in Active Community Tasks)
Association of Mexican-American Educators
Mexican-American Advisory Committee

Unit IV—Footnotes

1. Sister Mary Immaculate, *Mexican Cultural Patterns* (New York: G.P. Putman's & Sons), p. 2.

2. Y. Auturo Cabrera, *The Ties That Bind* (San Jose, California: Special Services and Community Relations; Compensatory Education), p. 6.

3. Immaculate, *op*. *cit*., p. 3.

4. *Ibid*.

5. Ralph L. Beals and Norman D. Humphrey, *No Frontier to Learning: The Mexican Student in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)p. 14.

6. Immaculate, *op*. *cit*., pp. 3-4.

7. Jane Macnab Christian, *Language Loyalty in the United States; the Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups* (The Hague: Mouton & Co.), 306.

8. Immaculate, *op*. *cit*., p. 5.

9. Christian, *op*. *cit*., pp. 305-6.

10. Beals, *op*. *cit*.

11. Immaculate, *op*. *cit*., pp. 5-6.

12. Armando Rodriguez, *The Mexican-American in San Diego* (Typewritten), pp. 3-4.

13. Cabrera, *op*. *cit*., p. 4.

14. Herschel T. Manuel, *Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare* (Austin: University of Texas Press), p. 44.

15. Julian Samora, *The General Status of the Spanish-Speaking People in the United States* (Lake Arrowhead, California: Lake Arrowhead Conference), p. 19.

16. Julian Samora, *The Spanish Speaking People in the United States: A Pilot Study Prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights*.

17. Rodriguez, *op*. *cit*., p. 30.

18. Samora, *op*. *cit*., (Spanish Speaking), p. 8.

19. Samora, *op*. *cit*., (General Status), pp. 19-20.

20. Marden & Meyer, "Mexicanos," Minorities in American Society (New York: American Book Co.)

21. Manuel, *op*. *cit*., p. 30.

22. Samora, *op*. *cit*., (Spanish Speaking), p. 5.

23. Farley E. Hunter and Duke Saunders, *Background Information Related to the Mexican-American Child*, p. 15.

24. Samora, *op*. *cit*., (General Status), p. 19.

25. Julian Samora, *The Education of the Spanish-Speaking in the Southwest--An Analysis of the 1960 Census Materials* (Mexican-American Workshop), p. 8.

26. Manuel, *op*. *cit*., pp. 7-8.

27. Samora, *op*. *cit*., (Education), pp. 8-10.

28. Carlos F. Borja Jr., *Speech Delivered to the Southern Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; AFL-CIO* (Typewritten).

29. Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Fair Employment Practices, State of California, *Californians of Spanish Surname* (San Francisco: State of California), p. 29.

30. Manuel, *op*. *cit*., p. 131.

31. *Ibid*., p. 157.

32. *Ibid*., p. 155.

33. *Ibid*., p. 85.

34. Christian, *op*. *cit*., pp. 312-13.

35. Samora, *op*. *cit*., (Education), p. 11.

36. Manuel, *op*. *cit*., p. 146.

37. *Ibid*., p. 147.

38. Manuel H. Guerra, *The Mexican-American Child: Problems or Talents?* (Sacramento: Bureau of Special Services and Community Relations, Compensatory Education), pp. 8-18.

39. Theodore Anderson, *A New Focus on the Bilingual Child* (Austin: University of Texas).

40. *Ibid*., pp. 1-2.

41. Samora, *op*. *cit*., (General Status), p. 20.

42. Marion J. Woods, Employment Problems of the Mexican American (Los Angeles: Assembly Subcommittee on Special Employment Problems), pp. 2-13.

43. Samora, op. cit., (General Status), p. 20.

44. Ralph Guzman, The Mexican-American Community (Typewritten), p. 3.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., p. 4.

48. Ibid., p. 5.

49. Samora, op. cit., (Spanish Speaking), p. 11.

50. Marden & Meyer, op. cit., p. 136.

51. Borja, op. cit., p. 2.

52. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

53. Marden & Meyer, op. cit., pp. 133-34.

54. Christian, op. cit., p. 287.

55. Samora, op. cit., (General Status), p. 22.

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